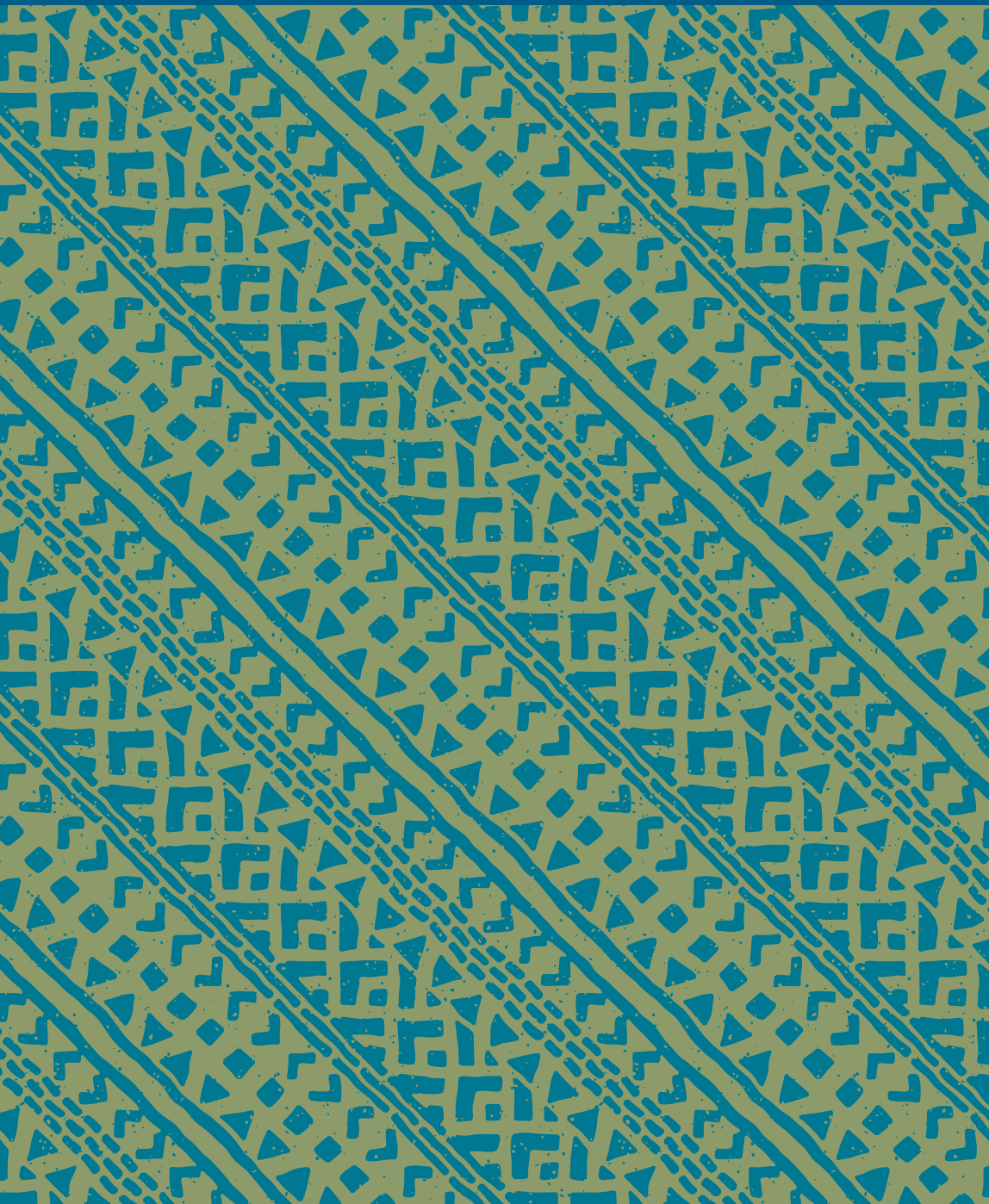


# Four Lienzos of the Coixtlahuaca Valley

Ross Parmenter

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FOUR LIENZOS  
OF THE  
COIXTLAHUACA VALLEY

ROSS PARMENTER

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# Introduction

## Lienzos Defined

Strictly speaking, the Spanish word *lienzo* refers to any large sheet, either of cotton or linen. It is also often used to indicate a European-style oil painting on canvas. But for students of Mexican pictorial manuscripts it has taken on a special meaning. That meaning, the one to be used in this study, can best be introduced historically.

When the Spaniards discovered Mexico in 1519, they were astonished to find that the inhabitants had books. Although in some cases the “pages” were assembled between boards, they were not like European books with pages sewn together and glued to a spine on the left. Instead the so-called pages were in long strips, which, because they were hinged so that they could be folded back on one another, have come to be called screenfolds. Although a system of hieroglyphic writing had evolved in the Maya region, the books did not bear written texts in the European sense, for the natives of Mesoamerica had not developed an alphabet with which to record their languages. What the pages were covered with were orderly pictures that told a running story. Most of the objects depicted are still recognizable, for by and large the art style was based on realism. Dates, names, and places, however, were pictured more abstractly. Places were indicated by glyphs, which were only partly representational. Current travel advertising presents updated examples of this device in the way that Paris is often represented by the Eiffel Tower, Rome by St. Peter’s, and New York by the Statue of Liberty.

The devices for depicting dates and names were drawn from the special sign language invented for the calendar. Calendrical signs served both functions because individuals were named after the days on which they were born. If we had the same practice, a child born, say, on a Thursday would always be called Thursday. But to avoid the difficulty of not having enough names to go around (after all, there were only twenty day signs in the calendar) the Mesoamericans provided a larger store by taking advantage of the way days were numbered in their calendar—that is, with series that ran from one to thirteen and then began over again. To use as examples two personages important in the first two documents of our study, Lord 3 Rain was so-named because he was born on a 3 Rain day, and one of his wives, Lady 6 Deer, received her name from being born on a 6 Deer day. The day numbers were indicated by easily counted small circles, the days by their accepted symbols. Nearly all the day symbols are literal pictures. A monkey head, for instance, is the symbol for a monkey day and a deer head for a deer day. A rain day is represented by a shorthand representation of the head of the rain god. The Aztecs called him Tlaloc. Although other people named him differently, they represented him in the same way: by a symbol utilizing only one of the god’s thick eye-glasses, his projecting upper lip, and his long teeth hanging below the lip. Examples of these signs, as represented in the Lienzo of Ihuatlán, are shown in Figure 1.



Fig. 1 The day signs Monkey, Deer, and Rain as represented on the Lienzo of Ihuatlán.

In the early years of Spanish rule, the natives, who still had not mastered writing in the European sense, learned how to adapt their pictorial means of keeping records for use in transactions with the Spaniards. They painted some of the Post-Conquest records on deer hide, the material used for most of the Pre-Columbian records known as codices. They also used paper, a material they knew how to manufacture before the Spaniards came. And of especial interest to us, they made use of enormous sheets of cotton. The records painted on these sheets, employing native artistic conventions and following native artistic traditions, are the documents that specialists in the field of Pre-Columbian picture writing now call *lienzos*. The contents of these *lienzos*, no less than their artistic conventions, derive from and reflect Pre-Columbian times.

One of the mysteries of the Spanish Conquest has been how so small a number of Spaniards held so large a number of natives in control. Puzzlement of this kind arises largely from the conception that the Indians whom the Spaniards conquered were primitive nomads. Some indeed were, especially in the north, but these were the natives who were not subjugated until later. Those who were conquered early were settled, well-organized agricultural people—and they formed the majority of the population. That the Aztecs had strict rulers is well known, but that the non-Aztec people also had their own governors, who in many ways resembled feudal lords, is less commonly understood. Like the lords of Medieval Europe, their titles were hereditary. In

their own regions they had become large land-owners with many serfs to do their bidding, to labor for them, and to pay them tribute. The Caribbean term *cacique* has been applied to them and, in its widespread acceptance, has become useful. Hundreds of these *caciques*, each with a home village, became rich and powerful. Sometimes they waged war on each other, with one aggrandising himself at the expense of a neighbor; but they tended to form an upper class which knew it had many mutual interests, including those of solidifying and enlarging their separate domains through intermarriage. The Spaniards were quick to recognize that these *caciques* could be transformed into local officials who could enforce Spanish order. The trick was to guarantee to the *caciques* their titles, lands, and authority. For their part, the *caciques* would see that their serfs became law-abiding subjects of the Spanish king. So a pact was made. The Spaniards agreed to leave the *caciques* unchallenged if they, in return, kept the people peaceful.

To its enormous credit, Spain quickly decided that New Spain should be ruled by law. So a legal system was set up to administer the laws that were decreed. This meant that many *caciques*, in order to be guaranteed their rights under the new administration, had to prove that they had held their lands and titles for many generations. Accordingly they had to produce convincing documents for the new overlords who, coming from Spain, were not familiar with their lineages and long-held territories. Some *caciques* had such documents already available in the form of codices painted on deer hide. But others—probably the majority in the case of those who were challenged (or who felt they might be challenged)—had to create documents. We owe the *lienzos*, as well as other pictorials, to the self-protective impulse of local lords to record their claims. As one would expect from such a motivation, they engaged experts in the ancient art of picture writing to put down, once and for all, from whom they were descended and to whom

they were related; the limits of their holdings; some details of history, including legendary origins and exploits either of mighty ancestors or their own; and, in some cases, indications of the topographical features of their domains.

Lienzos were created throughout the sixteenth century and even into the seventeenth, with the earliest being closest in style to Pre-Columbian painting. The way they changed in style is in itself a delightful study. It allows one to see history in motion under one's very eyes. As the Spanish grip on all phases of life became greater, one discerns how the old style degenerated. European elements entered, along with European means of representation. More and more glosses were added as writing was learned, and ultimately, written texts replaced pictures altogether.

The lienzos, then, are fascinating interim documents. Perhaps they are the most fascinating of all the interim documents, for their large areas—many are big enough to cover king-sized beds—allow room for far more details than can be contained on pieces of paper. They also allow far greater range and freedom of treatment than the Post-Conquest documents painted on deer skin; these, one can say literally, are hidebound. And the lienzos that are most complete are combined genealogies, histories, and maps.

## The Valley Described

Oaxaca is the largest of Mexico's southern states and the fifth largest in the Republic. Its frontiers outline a shape like a fish with its head bitten off. The Valley of Coixtlahuaca is just below the front of the dorsal fin.

These piscine resemblances can be seen in Figure 2, which helps establish a number of other points, too. One is that the western third of the state is inhabited, for the most part, by natives whose ancestors spoke the Mixtec language; but here, as elsewhere, the native languages are no longer omnipresent. Because the three Mixtec areas are distinct topographically, they have long had different qualifying adjectives.<sup>1</sup> The Mixteca

Costa borders the coast of the Pacific. The other two areas are named because of their elevations. Actually, both are mountainous, but the Mixteca Alta is so-named because its main elevations are all more than 5,700 feet above sea level, whereas the places of the Mixteca Baja lie at lesser altitudes. The Mixteca Alta is contained wholly within Oaxaca, but both the Baja and the Costa extend into the neighboring state of Guerrero, which is why, in my lettering, their names bleed beyond Oaxaca's western frontier.

The Valley of Coixtlahuaca extends a little beyond the northern border of the Alta; Figure 3 shows the valley in more detail.<sup>2</sup> The Continental Divide forms the valley's southwest frontier. In consequence, the hills along this frontier are the highest that surround the valley. The loftiest of the peaks in this chain is Monte Verde at the extreme south. Monte Verde, which rises to 7,708 feet, is the highest peak in the Mixteca Alta, and is indicated in outline because its foothills project dramatically into the valley floor.

Within the valley the floor seems fairly level, although one is aware that it is divided into a northern and a southern basin by a gently rolling, treeless ridge that traverses its width. The impression of general levelness is intensified by the height of the encompassing hills. Nevertheless, the valley does tilt, with the Continental Divide

<sup>1</sup>The limits of the three Mixtecas are based on the map drawn by Cecil R. Welte (1973) to designate the Oaxaca regions that produced surviving *Relaciones geográficas* between 1579 and 1582. It should be added that Welte's office-library, Oficina de Estudios de Humanidad del Valle de Oaxaca, is a magnet for anthropologists, historians, and others studying the state, who are always generously helped there in their investigations.

<sup>2</sup>I have based this map of the Valley of Coixtlahuaca on one drawn especially for me in May 1975 by Welte, who also helped me with other geographical information about the valley. Welte adapted his map from a 1:100,000 contour map of the area, aided by another map to the same scale—"Zona Coixtlahuaca Nochixtlan de la Mixteca Oaxaqueña"—issued by the Papaloapan Commission of the Secretaría de Recursos Hidráulicos of the Mexican government. Jesús Franco Carrasco, for many years an engineer for the Papaloapan Commission, was kind enough to furnish me with the government map in November 1974.



Fig. 2 Map of the state of Oaxaca, showing the divisions of the three Mixtecas, and the location of the Valley of Coixtlahuaca.

forming the highest edge from which the valley slopes downward towards the northeast. Its rivers and streams, therefore, flow through the two basins to converge in the northeast, although the gap through which the combined watercourses drain from the valley is not apparent to the eye when one is in the valley itself. There one gains the impression of being completely surrounded by noble hills, and knowing the general elevation, one feels as if uplifted in the palm of a mighty hand. The sense of the nakedness of the palm is increased by the bareness of the slopes and the arid nature of the land. For the many streambeds carry little water.

Nowadays they seem to contribute more to erosion than to fertility.

The smallness of the rivers is one reason that they have not been named on the map, which already has names enough. But it should be said that the joined streams become the Rio Xiquila once they leave the valley. This, in turn, runs into the Rio Salada; the valley's subsystem is part of the Papaloapan drainage system. It should be explained, too, that the names outside the dotted lines that indicate the watershed of the valley are the names of neighboring judicial districts. There are towns in these districts with the same names, but those towns are not located on the map.

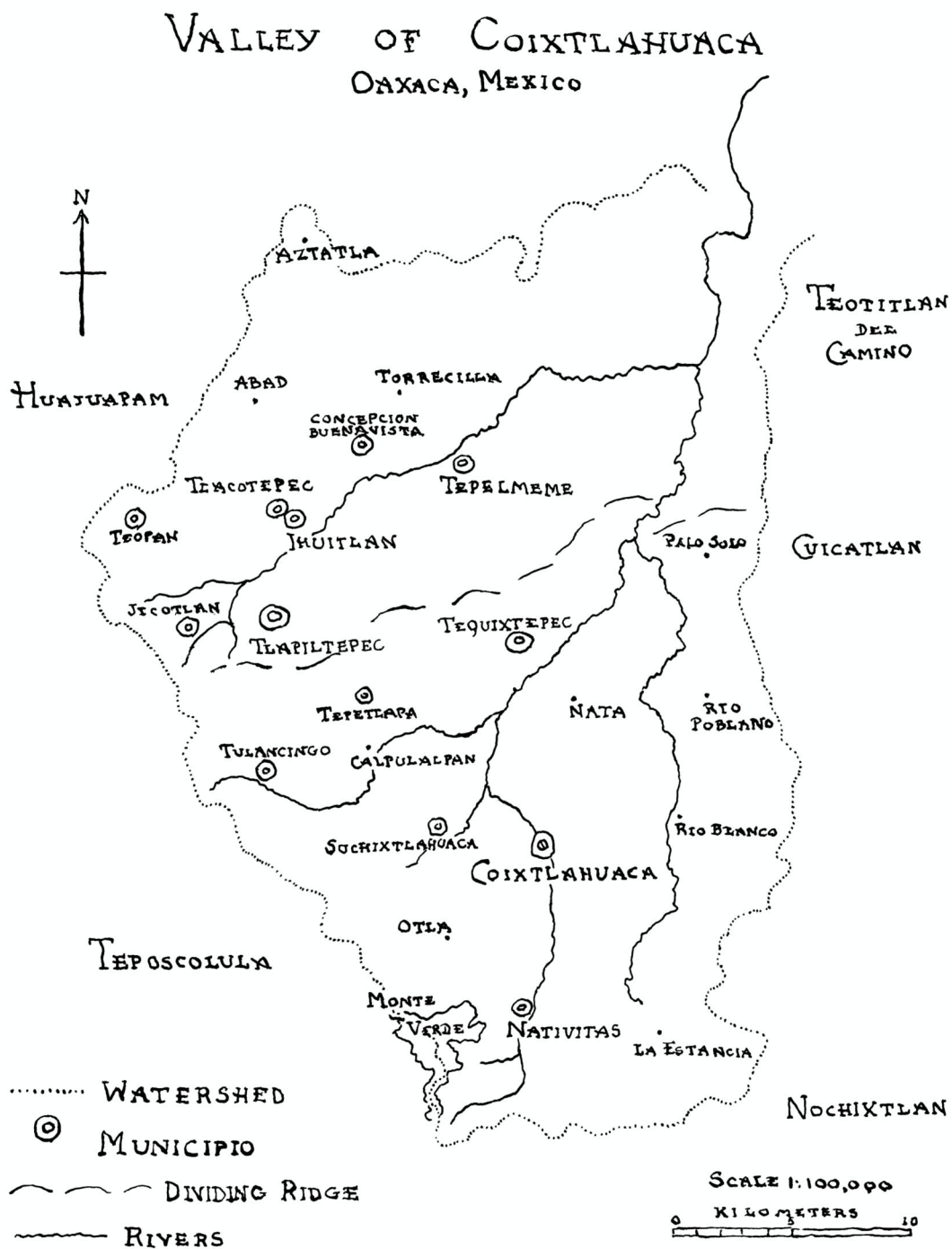


Fig.3 Map of the Valley of Coixtlahuaca.

The valley has thirteen *cabeceras* or *municipios*, as the independent municipalities are called. All are on the map, indicated by doughnutlike rings. In the interests of simplicity, only ten of the thirty-three or thirty-four dependencies are shown. In the 1970 census, the valley had a population of 15,953; but the valley's people are not concentrated in any one large locality. Coixtlahuaca, the chief town, which gives its name to both the valley and the judicial district, is a settlement of only 1,351 souls. Though nearly all the valley is in the Mixteca, not all its people speak Mixtec. A high proportion of those who still speak a native language speak Chocho, with the Chocho-speakers being most numerous in the southern part of the valley.<sup>3</sup>

Until the building of improved dirt roads in the early 1970s, this high, arid valley, because of its surrounding mountains, was almost inaccessible except on foot or horse. So it has been an isolated and little-known corner of Mexico. Only slowly, and in limited circles, has it been recognized that this valley, barely noticed by the history books, has a striking claim to fame. Ironically, this is because so much of its history has been preserved, for there is hardly another region in Mexico that has produced so many splendidly detailed lienzos. Six of them were known by the middle of the 1950s,<sup>4</sup> and I may have been the first to isolate and classify them as an important

subgroup among the surviving Mexican pictorial manuscripts (Parmenter 1961: 2). When I did, I said, "probably a few more Coixtlahuaca sheets will be discovered." I was able to say this confidently because I already had gotten wind of one more. Now I know of nine altogether. The story of two of the previously unknown ones will be given in chapter four. The ninth must remain a secret until some later time. Without permission, I do not want to betray the confidence of the villagers who have preserved it quietly in their own archives.

A final word about the area. The Dominican friars, who evangelized Oaxaca in the sixteenth century, were also active in the valley, and they gave Coixtlahuaca an earlier-recognized claim to fame by building one of their most splendid monasteries there. It was the reputation of this establishment that first drew me to the valley in 1955.

<sup>4</sup>The six I listed in Parmenter (1961) were:

- 1) the lienzo in the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto (Glass 1975: No. 8);
- 2) the lienzo from Coixtlahuaca in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, known as Seler II because Manuel Martínez Gracida, who obtained it from Coixtlahuaca, passed it on to Eduard Seler, who around 1897 took it to Europe (Glass 1975: No. 71; Lehmann 1905: 278–279);
- 3) the Lienzo of Coixtlahuaca, now in the Museo Nacional de Antropología in Mexico City, which came to light in 1940 and which previously had been known only through a version published by Gates (1931a) under the title *Codex Ixtlan* (Glass 1975: No. 70, Fig. 30);
- 4) Lienzo A, at Tulane University, New Orleans, a tracing by Nicolás León of a lost lienzo, previously known through the Gates version (1931b) as *Codex Meixueiro* (Glass 1975: No. 195, Fig. 44);
- 5) the Lienzo of Ihuitlán Plumas (Glass 1975: No. 157);
- 6) the Lienzo of Santa María Nativitas, still in the possession of its ancestral town, Santa María Nativitas, District of Coixtlahuaca (Glass 1975: No. 232, Fig. 48).

In Parmenter (1970) I told more about Lienzo A and how Alfonso Ortega M. discovered the Lienzo of Coixtlahuaca, now in Mexico City. Mary Elizabeth Smith (1973) also wrote on the six lienzos, and details on the six are to be found in the census of native Middle American pictorial manuscripts that John B. Glass and Donald Robertson compiled for the *Handbook of Middle American Indians* (Glass 1975). Coixtlahuaca, Lienzo A, and Nativitas are reproduced in volume 13 of the *Handbook*. Caso (1977, I: 118–136) has a valuable chapter on the contents of all the pictorial manuscripts from the Valley of Coixtlahuaca. See footnote 24 for its bearing on three of the lienzos discussed here.

<sup>3</sup>Chocho, like nearly all the many native languages of Oaxaca, belongs to the linguistic family known as Otomangue. According to the glottochronology worked out by Nicholas A. Hopkins (n.d.), it is one of the latest diversifications. It stems from an earlier separation placed around A.D. 500. In that prior separation, in the Formative or Pre-Classical period, Popolocano (the parent branch of Chocho) began separating from the Mixtec group. Hopkins places the subsequent subdividing of the Popolocano group (into four divisions, one being Chocho) as late as A.D. 1200—certainly between 1000 and the coming of the Spaniards. This date probably has bearing on the lienzos of the Coixtlahuaca Valley, whose information reaches as far, or farther, back than this language split. If most of the dynasties shown on the lienzos were Chocho-speaking, their founders, many obviously warlike, may have been invaders who supplanted speakers of another idiom. This hypothesis of the lienzo people being Chochones might go a long way to explain how little they seem to overlap the Mixtec-speaking people of Tilantongo.



## The Lienzo of Ihuitlán: Supplemental Notes to Caso<sup>5</sup>

### A New Art Province and William Randolph Hearst

The first Coixtlahuaca Valley lienzo I saw was that of Ihuitlán Plumas. January 1, 1960, was the day I came upon it, and the excitement it caused fixes the date in my mind even more than the fact that it was New Year's Day. By that time I was already intensely curious about Mexican pictorial manuscripts, largely because of the two I had come to know well through poring over reproductions of them at home. The first was *The Selden Roll* (Burland 1955), which I had bought in Mexico in 1957. Although it had not impressed me as a work of art, especially since most of the reproduction was in black and white, the Roll had intrigued me iconographically, and I enjoyed following its story under the guidance of Cottie A. Burland's commentary. Seven months later the *Codex Nuttall* (Nuttall 1902) fulfilled A.E. Housman's criterion for great poetry (blowing "the top of one's head off") when it arrived in the mail after I had sent \$20 to the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology in Cambridge. I had not been prepared for its wealth of color—the Nuttall was obviously a thrilling work of art. Together the two pictorials gave me a sense of an art province unknown to me, wide in its range and full of marvelous meanings to track down.

No branch of Pre-Columbian art—neither its sculpture, its architecture, nor its ceramics—had excited me so much. So what was my delight when my agreement to meet a friend at the Brooklyn Museum on that momentous New Year's Day led me into a great hall where on the opposite wall was, as I could see even from a dis-

tance, a major pictorial document! It would not surprise me if I was transported to it by levitation. All I recall is that when I was close to it, its images were both like and yet unlike the images on the Nuttall and the Selden Roll. It was an illuminating third product of this mysterious new art province. That it at first seemed to be painted only in black and white did not trouble me. The Selden Roll reproduction had accustomed me to examples of the genre lacking color. But in Brooklyn, when I looked closer I saw there were colors after all. The cloaks of the men were pale pink, the women's coats were a pale orange-yellow. Straw mats were yellow. Hills were green, and water blue, (though these last two colors were so faded as to be barely distinguishable). Even more suprising, there were words! They were mostly single words written in unlinked European script under a number of drawings that I recognized as Pre-Columbian glyphs representing places. When I saw "Cu-vayxtlavaca" my skin tingled. That was close enough to "Coixtlahuaca" to suggest the town I knew. And I was almost sure it must be the place whose monastery I had visited, for I knew its name meant "Place of the Serpent"; there, just above the name, was a fine diamond-backed rattler (Fig. 4). Eagerly I looked for the names of other places I might have passed through when I walked to Coixtlahuaca in 1955. In spotting "Xi-

<sup>5</sup>I included much of this material in "A Gallery Talk," given on January 20, 1977, in connection with the exhibition "Pictorial Manuscripts of Ancient Mexico" at the Joe and Emily Lowe Art Gallery of Syracuse University. The exhibition, which was organized by Stanton L. Catlin and Nancy P. Troike, included the Lienzo of Ihuitlán, on loan from the Brooklyn Museum.

cotla” and “Tlalvixtlavaca” my doubts were at an end. It *was* a pictorial manuscript from a region I knew. Something I never dreamed could happen had come to pass—I had found an ancient pictorial document connected with villages I had visited.

Never in my life had a curiosity become so quickly consuming. I had to know more about that great sheet, which was eight feet tall by five feet wide. Its label gave no precise information, and because it was a holiday there was no curator on hand to consult. I had to wait a few days. Then I was surprised to learn how little the museum actually knew about its treasure; it was, however, able to furnish me with a beautifully clear photograph of the lienzo. When Jane Powell, then acting curator of Primitive Art and New World Culture, returned from her winter vacation, she was able to tell me that the museum had acquired the lienzo in 1942 and that Herbert J. Spinden was the curator who had purchased it. Happily, at this time I had opened a correspondence with Donald Robertson, who had just published his pioneering *Mexican Manuscript Painting of the Early Colonial Period* (1959). He knew the lienzo came from Santiago Ihuitlán Plumas, and this confirmed that it came from a region I knew. I had not passed through Ihuitlán—spelled “Yvitla” on the lienzo—but the modern spelling enabled me to locate Ihuitlán on a map and to see that beyond question it was in the Valley of Coixtlahuaca. Robertson also knew that Alfonso Caso had deciphered the lienzo,<sup>6</sup> and he excited me further by saying that he believed Caso had published a study of it.

Caso, the discoverer of the jewels of Monte Albán, was also the world’s leading authority, on Mixtec codices. Nothing makes me so bold as legitimate curiosity, so when I could find no record of Caso’s publication, I wrote to him di-

<sup>6</sup>In 1956 Caso told the International Congress of Americanists that the Lienzo of Ihuitlán was among the many Mexican pictorial documents he had deciphered (Caso 1958a: 460). Two years later he mentioned that Ihuitlán’s lienzo came from near Coixtlahuaca (Caso 1958b: 389).



Fig. 4 The serpent glyph of Coixtlahuaca as shown on the Lienzo of Ihuitlán.

rectly. His reply astonished me. His study had, in fact, not yet been published, and although I was entirely unknown to him, he included in a package of his reprints that reached me on March 29, 1960, a carbon copy of his “Notes” on the Brooklyn Museum’s lienzo.

They informed me that the people of Ihuitlán had lost their lienzo to a Oaxaca lawyer at the end of the last century. This gave me an idea: to get the Brooklyn Museum to make me a much larger copy of the lienzo photograph which I would have framed in Oaxaca and take to Ihuitlán on my next vacation. The villagers, I felt, would be glad to have such a photograph, which would let them know where their lienzo was, and that it was safely and carefully preserved. Meanwhile, to show my gratitude to Dr. Caso for his generosity and trust, I would hunt for whatever information I could find in New York that might supplement his notes, for they gave me an important local lead. The lienzo had once been in the collection of William Randolph Hearst, who ruled his publishing empire from New York for many years (Swanberg 1961).

Caso’s study of the lienzo was published late in 1961 under the title “Los Lienzos Mixtecos de Ihuitlán y Antonio de León” (Caso 1961: 238–249). Because the study is so detailed in describing every inch of the sheet and in naming all the people in its several genealogies, I do not want to duplicate its information in this chapter. But because I have gathered some facts not included in Caso’s study, I would like to put them on record here, so they can form supplemental notes. My

additional information will help pave the way for the other three Coixtlahuaca lienzos I will discuss later.

Caso published a little of the Hearst information I sent him, but not all; so this makes a good starting point—the lienzos return to light after more than forty years. Hearst, as is well known, was a voracious, impulsive, and unsystematic collector. One of his principle purchasing agents, C.C. Rounds of the Hearst Corporation, was extraordinarily frank in discussing his former boss with me, perhaps because the old man was dead (personal communications, June 7 and 29, 1960). The Chief, he told me, loved to go to auctions, and he tended to buy things in great lots, unconcerned with their history and often careless in recording where, when, and from whom he made his purchases. Rounds began working for Hearst in 1928, and the Ihuitlán lienzo was one of the many Hearst acquisitions that had by that time already been bought. It was an item that no one knew anything about until 1931, when a vast accumulation of Hearst possessions was shifted from the Hearst garage on Eighty-fifth Street to a five-story warehouse in the Bronx that had been bought especially to house the objects as they were sorted and catalogued. Here the Ihuitlán lienzo, together with a lienzo now in the University Museum in Philadelphia (Parmenter 1966: 21–22) was discovered, photographed, and roughly classified. “Indian or Mexican” were the guesses for Ihuitlán’s geographical character.

By 1937, the extravagant Hearst, overextended by his possessions and staggering under a load of accumulated debt (Swanberg 1961: 486), faced the fact that to stave off bankruptcy he would have to sell many of his holdings and art works. There were five Hearst auctions at the Parke-Bernet Gallery in 1938 and 1939; in 1940 Hearst made a further arrangement with two New York department stores, Gimbel’s and Saks Fifth Avenue, to sell more of the antiques he found hard to part with. The stores were to sell the objects over a period of four or five years. A plan was con-

ceived to give the store sales a well-publicized boost with what Mr. Rounds called “a phony auction.” The auction of two hundred selected items was held on March 25, 1941, on the fifth floor of Gimbel’s, which had been converted two months earlier into a gallery for the display and sale of pieces from the Hearst Collection (*The New York Times* 1941: 21). According to Mr. Rounds, the bidders, by prearrangement, returned their purchases to the store. The “auction” was given an air of authenticity and social distinction by serving as a benefit for the New York Infirmary for Women and Children. Tickets were sold at a dollar each, the comedian George Jessel introduced the auctioneers, and the affair was managed by Hammer Galleries, which published a well-illustrated 334-page catalog (Hammer 1941).

The Ihuitlán lienzo, one of the items selected for the auction, was included among the “Linen Panels” on page 305. It was described as: “Early Latin-American Painted Linen Panel, Framed (619-8).”

Although *The New York Times* gave names of only six or seven purchasers, it reported that the auction brought \$162,171.

Whatever the Ihuitlán lienzo was knocked down for to the dummy bidder, John Wise, a New York dealer specializing in Peruvian textiles and Pre-Columbian art, was able to buy it sometime later (personal communication, June 3 and 4, 1960). He also picked up the Lienzo of Philadelphia and a beautiful single-sheet Techialoyan pictorial, frames and all, for a ridiculous total of \$137. In boasting of his bargain, he joked of having bought the three documents as “Persian curtains.” In 1942 he sold the smaller lienzo to George Vaillant for the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania (Mason 1943), which named it after Philadelphia, its home city. Spinden bought the other two pictorials from Wise for the Brooklyn Museum, where the Techialoyan was later identified as coming from San Pedro Atlapulco (Robertson and Robertson 1975: 273). Brooklyn paid

\$750 for the Ihuitlán lienzo.<sup>7</sup> When it was lent to Syracuse University for an exhibition in 1977, it was insured for \$10,000 (Stanton L. Catlin, personal communication, January 19, 1977).

## The Showing in Tlacotepec

In September 1960, after I had the Brooklyn Museum's large photo framed in Oaxaca, I boarded a bus, headed for the Mixteca Alta. At Nochixtlán the seat beside me became vacant, and an Indian girl, a gray rebozo around her shoulders and a basket over her arm, slipped into it. When she displayed curiosity about what I had in my yard-long flat package, I turned down a corner of the already-torn wrapping so she could get an idea of what was in the frame.

"¡Un mapa!" she exclaimed without hesitation. I was surprised. Not at the term (for by this time I had seen Post-Conquest pictorial documents called *mapas* often enough in bibliographies to know that *mapa* was a widely used term for almost any sixteenth-century drawing related to a town), but by the fact that a country girl was familiar enough with the genre to recognize an example of it so quickly. I had thought that after the passage of so many years only scholars knew what *mapas*, in this special sense, were. Certainly no one in Oaxaca had identified it as such. That it might, in fact, be a map was a possibility I did not take seriously.

In those years there were no buses into the Coixtlahuaca Valley, for the roads were not good enough to allow any vehicles except jeeps and trucks to get through. At Yanhuitlán I picked up my old friend Gabriel Blanco, and when we

reached Tamazulapan, Blanco and I left the bus, prepared to walk the rest of the way. Blanco was the caretaker of the sixteenth-century monastery at Yanhuitlán (Parmenter 1964), and he had been my guide and companion on several trips to different corners of the Mixteca Alta. He had schoolteacher friends at Tlacotepec, the modern town adjoining Ihuitlán, and he was sure they would put us up for the night. The next morning we could formally present the photograph to the Municipal President of Ihuitlán. The walk required nearly the whole day (September 28, 1960), and we took turns carrying the framed lienzo.

Finally, when we had gone some way through a shallow valley, occasionally glimpsing a river on the right, Gabriel caught sight of our destination, and he pointed to two settlements on a slight rise in the distance. They hardly differed in color from the semi-arid terrain, for all their structures were of the creamy white stone that is the region's cheapest building material because it can be so easily quarried from the surface. Only Ihuitlán's church was more than a single story high. The road brought us first to Tlacotepec.

Andrés Meza López was the first schoolteacher we met at Tlacotepec, and he assured us we would be able to sleep on the floor of his school. He was happy to be shown the lienzo. Feeling well informed, I pointed out the genealogies indicated by three great columns in which couples were stacked one above the other. But what excited him more than the genealogies was that the lienzo was also a map. And he meant a map in the modern sense. Because I could not understand how he could be sure, I asked him to demonstrate how he knew. For an answer he took me to the roof of the school, which commanded a fine view of the valley, looking southward toward Monte Verde which rose majestically in the distance on the right. When I still could not coordinate what I saw with what was on the lienzo, he laid it flat on the roof, its top at our feet, and became specific.

<sup>7</sup>The Brooklyn Museum accession card for P.42.160 reads: "Mexico/Southern Mexico/about 1550." The money came from the Carl H. DeSilver Fund. For this information, as well as for many other courtesies, I would like to thank the Brooklyn Museum. Besides making the large photograph of its lienzo for me to take to Ihuitlán, it let me have copies of a set of excellent detailed closeups of the lienzo. One is shown in Figure 26 with part of it repeated in Figure 27b. So large and clear were the images on the others that I was able to draw or trace from them Figures 1, 4, 5, 8, 17, and 18.

"See," he said, "we are here," and pointed to a hill glyph near the midline of the lienzo, about a third of the way from the far end of the frame. Even though it was upside down to me, I could see the bell-shaped hill was penetrated by a black serpent. "Now look to the left," he said. "There is Tepelmeme." When I followed his finger I could make out a distant village at almost a 90 degree angle to our original line of sight. I could see it had the same spatial relationship to Ihuitlán in reality as its counterpart, "Tepeneme," had to the place of the black serpent on the lienzo. Then the teacher pointed to another village farther down the valley on the same longitude as Tepelmeme. "That is Tequixtepec," he said. Again reading the upside-down letters, I could discern "Tecçixtepec." It, too, was spatially related to Ihuitlán on the lienzo as the two villages were related in the scenery.

Coixtlahuaca was out of sight, hidden by the intervening ridge, but, having visited it, I knew more or less where it was. I asked Andrés if the lienzo was accurate about its position too. He admitted that the lienzo had the village a little too far to the east, but it was correct in placing it to the south.

Tlapiltepec was the next place he pointed to. Folded in a crease quite far to the right as it was, I could hardly see this town, but he assured me that it, too, was related to Ihuitlán just as its counterpart was on the lienzo. And when I realized how near Tlapiltepec was to Ihuitlán, a plan for the following year flashed into my head.

At this point we were joined by another of the young schoolteachers, Apolinar Cruz Santamaría. He had never heard that Ihuitlán had a lienzo, so he looked with surprise at the framed reproduction we were studying. Besides teaching in Tlacotepec, he had also taught at two of the villages we could see from the roof, Tlapiltepec and Tequixtepec. So he, too, readily recognized the lienzo as a map. And what we were looking at led him to remember a document he had seen in Tequixtepec. San Miguel Tequixtepec, he said,

also had a lienzo. And another plan for the coming year flashed into my head.

Descending to the classroom, the schoolteachers produced a modern map of the valley and I was able to coordinate other villages on it with their namesakes on the lienzo. The need to find space for the genealogies meant that some villages were placed only approximately, but the topographical intent was clear. The lienzo was oriented like a modern map, with the north at the top and the south at the bottom. So the Indian girl on the bus had spoken truly. It was a map, and my eyes were opened to an aspect of the lienzo unsuspected, it seems, even by Caso. When the villagers showed him a tracing of the lienzo in 1954, he accepted their belief that it showed the limits of their village, but he did not realize it was also a map of the region.

With this unexpected aspect of the lienzo revealed, I suddenly recognized another—equally unexpected. The bell-shaped place glyphs surrounding the lienzo came close to resembling the hills that hemmed in the valley. It was a picture of the valley, then, as well as a map. I had not recognized the attempt at pictorial representation because nothing was drawn in perspective and I was not accustomed to accepting what resembled free-standing tea-cozies as interflowing mountain peaks.

## The Presentation in Ihuitlán

The next morning the worthies of Ihuitlán, forewarned that there was to be a presentation, gathered in the chief room of the Ayuntamiento. Gabriel Blanco and I crossed the single street separating Tlacotepec from Ihuitlán to join them in the municipal palace. Gabriel did the honors in introducing me. After his properly formal speech, I handed the framed picture to Ernesto Jiménez, the burly farmer who was then the Municipal President. All crowded around his shoulders to see what it was. Where did I get it? they asked. I pointed out what I had had the framer print on the

mounting of the photograph: that the lienzo was now in the Brooklyn Museum in Brooklyn, New York. The general incredulous surprise, accompanied by much nodding of heads, was what I had hoped for. After this there was no ice between us, and questions quickly followed each other back and forth.

Near the top of the lienzo was a place named as Tlacotepec. Did it represent their neighboring village? I asked. They said it did not, explaining that the glyph represented an ancient village in the state of Puebla, whereas the Tlacotepec that was across the street was only founded in 1868, when the villagers in the barrio of Tlacotepec wanted to be independent (Martínez Gracida 1883). At first the seceders used the same church and the same municipal buildings. However in 1902 differences became acrimonious and the people of Tlacotepec wanted to be entirely self-sufficient. The argument, I was told, was over the acquisition of more land as a source of more firewood. A conservative faction in the central barrio of Ihuitlán was dead set against buying extra land. The Tlacotepec people on the outskirts were equally set on increasing their land holdings. When they found they could not budge the authorities of Ihuitlán, they bought the land anyway and began constructing their own church and civic buildings.

Which glyph was the glyph of Ihuitlán Plumas? I asked, because I wanted to verify what Andrés Meza had told me. That he might not have been right was suggested by the fact that “Santiago yuitla” was written under a depiction of a Christian church. There were also the words “pinoy-alco yuitla” under one of the lower couples adjoining a Pre-Columbian ballcourt. Since the words “Ihuitlán Plumas” did not appear on the lienzo, either one of those other places might have represented their town. But my informants confirmed the teacher by pointing to the black serpent penetrating the hill with the axe on top and water flowing down the left slope and along the base (Fig. 5). How could they be sure this was their glyph? I asked. They explained that be-

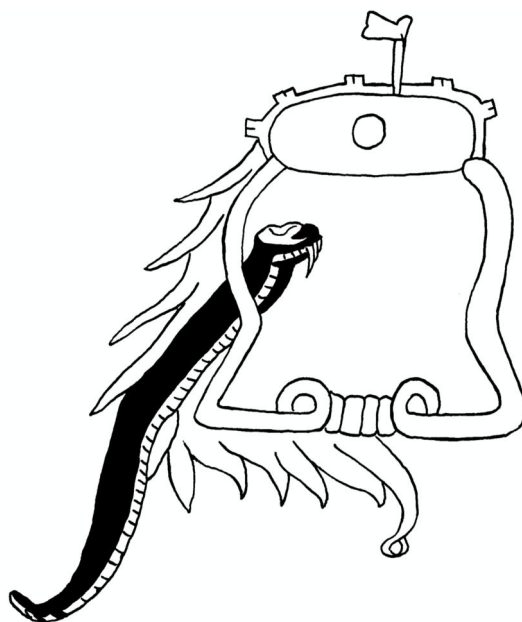


Fig. 5 The glyph of Ihuitlán as represented on the Lienzo of Ihuitlán.

fore the split of the two villages an ancient stone embedded among the cobbles of the town's pavement had the same glyph. During the troubles, however, it had disappeared.

Did any one in the town speak Mixtec? I asked. This brought the information that the native language of the town had died out completely. Moreover it had never been Mixtec. The earlier inhabitants of Ihuitlán had spoken Chocho.

“Do you know why the town is called Ihuitlán Plumas?” asked Gerardo Santiago Quiroz, the little shoemaker who, by common consent, was the town historian. I knew it derived from two Nahuatl words (*ihuitl*, meaning “feather,” and *tlán* “place of”), but I did not know how the settlement had come by the name, which the Spaniards had made intelligible in their language, too, by adding “Plumas.”

“It was because in Pre-Conquest days the town was a great feather market,” continued the cobbler. Since the arid valley was not a haunt of tropical birds, I was skeptical. But Quiroz continued:

"Those who had the feathers of tropical birds to sell brought them here. And purchasers came from all over to buy them. And this included Aztecs, too. The feather market, in fact, was so important that, after Coixtlahuaca, Ihuitlán was the most important town in the district. Tlacotepec also calls itself Tlacotepec Plumas."

Later, in studying Barlow's *The Extent of the Empire of the Culhua Mexica*, (1949), which summarizes the tributes collected by Montezuma from the towns he dominated, I found support for the cobbler. The valley of Coixtlahuaca, in which Ihuitlán is situated, did indeed present Montezuma with feathers in abundance. If not the second (as it probably was), the valley was certainly the third most important source of feathers for the Aztec overlord.<sup>8</sup> So the market was not where the feathers originated, but where they were brought to be traded.

### How Ihuitlán Lost Its Lienzo

Knowing from Caso's notes that the town had a colored tracing of its lienzo, I asked if I could see it. Obliging, they unfolded it. It had to be laid out on the floor for it was the same great size as the original. I was surprised at how crudely it was colored. The pale blues were a leaden blue, the straws were bright yellow, and the pinks were almost red. The tracing cloth itself had grown opaque and yellow with age.

"How did you come to lose the original?" I asked. This was something Caso had not explained in telling how a delegation of villagers had taken the tracing to Mexico City in the hope of getting a schoolteacher assigned to the village.

The story was that a lawyer from Oaxaca had told them he needed the lienzo to settle a land dispute case. A leading man of the town had entrusted it to the lawyer, who left a deposit of ten

pesos. The lawyer never returned the precious sheet. "In what year was that?" I asked. Unhesitatingly they gave the year 1900. And they gave the name of the town *síndico* (or attorney general) at the time—Margarito Mendoza; there was uncertainty about the name of the lawyer. There was agreement that a certain old man, Ventura Jiménez, would know. Jiménez was sent for, and promptly named the man as Ernesto Iñárritu. But this had happened sixty years before, and Don Ventura had no clue to Iñárritu's identity.

Though the worthies of Ihuitlán were more open than I had anticipated, I was given another account of the loss eleven years later (Fidel López Carrasco, personal communication, May 31, 1971), which suggested that the men of Ihuitlán had perhaps tailored their story a little to minimize discredit on their predecessors in office. In this second version—which was related by the leaders of the nearby village of Tlapiltepec—the chief men of Ihuitlán had some business to conduct in Oaxaca which required bringing their town documents, including the lienzo, to the state capital. They arrived hungry and without money, so when they went to a restaurant they left their documents as a loan against the meal. Some time later, when they had the money to repay the *fonda*, they came back to redeem the documents. The owner returned them all—except the lienzo. He had sold it in the meantime, he said, to the lawyer Ernesto Iñárritu, whose brother was General Luís Iñárritu, proprietor of the hacienda of Xaaga near Tlacolula. So, Licenciado Iñárritu was a member of a prominent Oaxaca family, and fifteen years later, when Oaxaca declared itself independent of the rest of Mexico (Iturribarria 1955), the lawyer's brother was one of the conservatives who served as a military leader in the secession.

This story by neighbors, which is so circumstantial, might also account for Ihuitlán having its full-size tracing. Perhaps Don Ernesto held that he had bought the lienzo honestly. He was not obliged to surrender it. But he might well have

<sup>8</sup>Xoconochco, in the state of Chiapas, was unquestionably the most important center of the feather trade. A possible rival for second place with the Valley of Coixtlahuaca was the province of Tochtepec which then extended into parts of present-day northeast Oaxaca, southern Veracruz, and Tabasco.

had the lienzo traced for the village as a means of closing the case. Mendoza, the official responsible for the loss of the lienzo, so the men of the town had told me, was also the official responsible for obtaining the tracing.



## Tlapiltepec to Toronto: The Provenance of the Lienzo in the Royal Ontario Museum<sup>9</sup>

### Something to Be Walked Around

After leaving Ihuitlán, Gabriel and I visited Coixtlahuaca and then continued on to Santa María Nativitas, at the foot of Monte Verde. At each town there were further adventures. In the Ayuntamiento of Coixtlahuaca I saw a photograph of one of its lienzos—the one that did not get taken to Berlin. The photograph showed me that the original, then in the Museo Nacional in Mexico City, was the basic document from which William Gates (1931a) derived his “Codex Ixtlan” (Parmenter 1970). So my puzzlement over “Ixtlan” was resolved. I knew the original had come from Coixtlahuaca, and I knew what had become of the lienzo. Santa María Nativitas had not lost its lienzo, so there we had the pleasure of being shown one that was still in the proud possession of its native village. But we were frustrated in getting help from the villagers in reading its Mixtec glosses. Chocho was the only indigenous language they knew.

Needless to say, these further experiences with Coixtlahuaca Valley lienzos fanned my interest in a major one of the group, the lienzo in the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto. I spent many hours of my spare time the following year rounding out the information about it that I had begun collecting along with information about the Lienzo of Ihuitlán. What I learned will make it clear why, when I stood on the roof of the school of Ihuitlán and learned the whereabouts of Tlapiltepec, I had the idea of embarking on a similar adventure: to take a large framed photo-

graph of the Royal Ontario Museum lienzo to that neighboring village.

Along with his decipherment of the Lienzo of Ihuitlán, Caso published an equally detailed description of the lienzo in Toronto (1961: 249–274). This means that with this lienzo, too, I am spared the necessity of repeating work that has already been done. But in this case, to follow that part of its story that I choose to tell, the reader needs a more precise visual impression of the lienzo as a whole than he needed of the Lienzo of Ihuitlán. The lienzo in Toronto, being five feet five inches wide, is only half-a-foot wider than the one of Ihuitlán, although it is more than six feet longer. It is shown in its totality in Figure 6, but without a magnifying glass little can be gained except a general idea, for most details are lost in reducing it to a single page in this publication. The size of the original, in fact, has been a stumbling block to its display in the museum. What it needs even more than wall space is floor space, or a gigantic table which can be walked around. For unlike the Ihuitlán lienzo (oriented to only one point of view), the various sections of

<sup>9</sup>This chapter is based on a paper of almost the same title written in 1973 for the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto, Canada. The Museum held it for four years and then released it for want of publication resources. I recapitulated part of it in “La identificación del lienzo del Royal Ontario Museum” on June 28, 1977, at the Congreso de Evaluación de la Antropología en Oaxaca, held from June 27 to 29 by the Centro Regional of the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia at the Museo Regional de Oaxaca, Oaxaca. In 1978, on June 26 and 27, the same local branch of the INAH, the Centro Regional de Oaxaca, held a round Table on Mixtec studies at which I repeated and extended material from this chapter (Jansen 1978: 13–15).



Fig.6 The whole of Tlapiltepec's lienzo in the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto. Photograph courtesy of the R.O.M.

the Toronto lienzo have different orientations. Only the long columns on the left would be right side up to the viewer looking at it hanging on a wall. To be read with any comfort, it has to be spread out well below standing eye-level in an area that can be circumambulated. This is dictated by more than the orientation of the pictures; it is also enforced by the historical order of the events. They were painted to read clockwise, with the reading beginning at the lower left corner. Even in this reproduction, however, one of the early events can be seen fairly easily. It is the making of a fire of some significance, and it can be found above the largest of the glyphs—the one of the hill interlaced by two mighty serpents with snarling jaguar heads. The firemaker is rotating his fire drill in the middle of the three holes in the log on which he kneels. Standing to the left of the log is another man, who appears to bless the newly started fire by holding an ornamental lance above it.

Most of the material running up the left side of the lienzo is genealogical, though successions of rulers can certainly be considered events, too. Sequential events take the viewer around the upper corner, and from the top he has to start looking down the sheet. Here the orientation of the figures is less rigidly consistent, because to find space for facts pertinent to several places shown, the artist had to depict them sideways. Once one passes the midway point on the right side, consistency is reestablished and the last events are all upside down to the corner from which the viewing journey began. These are the events in an area of the lienzo that is not nearly so crowded with people and places. And if in so small a scale the tiny figures do not show up well, at least the blank spaces between them can be clearly seen.

It was the desire to establish where Toronto's lienzo came from that gave me the original impulse to take a photograph of it to Tlapiltepec. In studying what had been published about the lienzo, I had discovered a) that no one who had published on it seemed to know, and b) that

many possible places had been proposed. Tlapiltepec was one suggestion that seemed promising. In my first paper on the lienzo (1961), I explained why. Because, to be understandable, this sequel to that paper needs a good deal of its information, I am obliged to duplicate much of it here—but I have few qualms in doing so. Since the earlier paper appeared only in mimeograph form, had a limited circulation, and is not readily accessible, much of what will be repeated is not likely to be familiar. Besides, it brought the story only to the end of 1961, and I have learned more facts in the meantime. It is my hope that by working in the new material in the course of shortening and recasting the old, I can avoid the lethargy of the twice-told tale.

### Predecessors in the Search

The earliest certain date when the lienzo was no longer in its native village is 1907. This was given by Constantine George Rickards, the British Vice Consul in Oaxaca who, when goaded into it by the Oaxacan educator Abraham Castellanos, published a description of the lienzo (Rickards 1913). In his "Notes" he called the lienzo "Codex Rickards," feeling he had the right to name it after himself since, if he was not the first to purchase it after its native village lost control of it, he was at least the first to acknowledge openly that he had bought it. Rickards, the 30-year-old son of a Scot who migrated to Mexico in 1856 where he made money in mines and commerce, had the means to make the purchase. Two years previously, on his father's death, he had inherited wealth enough to give up his career as a lawyer and to devote himself to his consuming hobby, Oaxaca archaeology.<sup>10</sup>

Eduard Seler, the German scholar who had already managed to acquire one Coixtlahuaca Valley lienzo for the Museum für Völkerkunde in

<sup>10</sup>These biographical details about Rickards were given to me in personal communications on August 6, 1962, and June 10, 1966, by Rickards's son, George E. Rickards.

Berlin, (see footnote 4), for which he worked, was in Mexico the year Rickards made his purchase. One of Seler's tasks there was to make an inventory of the pictorial manuscripts in the collection of Mexico's Museo Nacional, so it is easy to see how interested he would be in Rickards's lienzo. Rickards was not parting with his treasure, but he agreed to let Seler make a full-size copy of it for the Berlin Museum. With this permission, the German traced the lienzo and filled in its colors, making them more strident than the vestiges on the original sheet.<sup>11</sup> When the furled tracing was presented to the Museum für Völkerkunde, the name of a village was written in pencil on the outside of the roll—Tlacotepec (Manfred Kudlek, personal communication, December 1, 1976). So, if the tracing was made in 1907, the probable year, Seler was the first to enter the ring with a candidate for the provenance of the lienzo. But his nomination, Tlacotepec (unspecified as to state), was never taken up by succeeding researchers, probably because he never published his guess, and they never learned of it.

Castellanos, the Oaxaca schoolteacher who had become a force in Mexico's Federal School system (López de Escalera 1964), was the first to publish anything about the lienzo. Castellanos, who resembled Rickards in having an intense interest in anthropology and Mexican antiquities as a hobby, chose, as the forum for his first pronouncement on the lienzo, a meeting of the International Congress of Americanists in Mexico City in 1910 (Castellanos 1912a: 120–133). He

told the delegates that he had named the lienzo "Antonio de León," in honor of the general from Huajuapán, the largest town in the Mixteca Baja. León had helped his native Oaxaca in the fight for independence from Spain. He was killed in 1847 while defying United States troops who were in the process of capturing Mexico City. León, Castellanos argued, was a suitable man for the honor because the lienzo came from his home region, the Mixteca Baja. Specifically, he said it was the lienzo of the towns of Papalutla and Miltepec. One of the glyphs, he said, was surmounted by a representation of the church of San Agustín Atenango, a town near Huajuapán. He made no mention of Rickards as the owner of the lienzo.

Rickards resented this doubly, first for being ignored and second for having the lienzo he had called Codex Rickards given a different name. But Castellanos persisted. In a lecture at the Museo Nacional the same year, he reiterated that the document was "Lienzo Antonio de León," though now he gave Rickards a break by a footnote acknowledging his ownership. In his museum lecture, however, Castellanos dropped the names of Papalutla and Mitepec, admitting that an attempt to prove conclusively that the lienzo came from Atenango had been frustrated when his courier found that the archives of Atenango had been destroyed by an earthquake in 1711. He nonetheless continued to hold that the lienzo came from the Mixteca Baja.

After this Rickards took two decisive steps. One was to appeal to the forum that Castellanos had addressed first, the International Congress of Americanists. The next meeting was to be in London in 1912, and Rickards decided to put his claims on record by presenting the Congress with a photostatic blueprint of "Codex Rickards." Alfred P. Maudslay, president of the Royal Anthropological Institute and a friend of Rickards, called the gift to the attention of the delegates at a general meeting on May 29 (International Congress of Americanists 1912: xliii). Later the blue-

<sup>11</sup>Manfred Kudlek, who saw the tracing, gave me this description in Oaxaca on October 5, 1976. Kudlek was one of a group of researchers who, under the direction of Berthold Riese, prepared a study of Seler II for the International Congress of Americanists in Paris (König n.d.). They worked under the auspices of the Arbeitsstelle für Altamerikanische Sprachen und Kulturen der Universität Hamburg. Other members of the group, besides Riese and Viola König (who was credited as author of the report) were Marie-Luise Heilmann, Gloria Laría Lara-Pinto, and Peter Tschol. The paper was part of a symposium, "Interpretation of the Mixtec Codices," organized by Nancy Troike.

print was turned over to the British Museum where it was catalogued as Add. Mss 38845. Adela C. Breton, the secretary of the Congress, writing to William Gates about the transaction on October 2, 1914, said, "It is a very bad copy, but they took it because the original appears to be good."<sup>12</sup> Speculating on why the copy contains some errors, Cottie A. Burland, later a member of the Museum staff, wrote about Rickards:

In his period the easiest method of preparing a copy would be to sketch the details on tracing paper. The soft surface of a lienzo would necessitate quite light tracing. This would not be sufficient for making a photostat. The lines would have to be gone over in ink. One concludes that in the process of inking in the outlines, or in transferring the tracing to another sheet, one or two dates given towards the end of the sheet became transposed, and some of the bigger symbols are traced rather roughly and transcribed in a hurry with the inaccuracies uncorrected (Burland 1962: 21).

Rickards's other step to sustain his priorities was to write the first comprehensive description of the lienzo (Rickards 1913: 47–57), which he equipped with thirteen line drawings, and good clear photographs of almost a sixth of the document. He then submitted it to the Société des Américanistes in Paris. In 1913 the society published it in its *Journal* with the title "Notes on the 'Codex Rickards'." The war of names was still on. Rickards said he had named the document "Rickards" before Castellanos had called it "Antonio de León," that the "Rickards" name was known "all over the scientific world," and that both Seler and Paul Henning had copies of it. Rickards's "Notes" ignored the towns put forward by Castellanos as the lienzo's place of origin, but, unfortunately, he did not name an alternative location. All he vouchsafed was that the lienzo came from the Mixteca, without specifying Baja or Alta.

In 1917 Castellanos returned to the lists. After much intervening excitement, including being

thrown into prison by the reactionary Victoriano Huerta when he crushed the liberal Chamber of Deputies, the educator gave three talks in Yucatán (Castellanos 1917). In two of them he dealt with the lienzo, continuing to call it "Antonio de León." He supported his claim to name it by saying he was its discoverer. But even if he saw it before Rickards did, he could not have seen it in its original town because of the three mistaken towns he had named earlier. In his third lecture, the caption to his figure 6—a glyph showing a hill with inter-twined serpents—proposed a new town. The detail, said the caption, came from the "*Lienzo de Tlapiltepec*."

There was no mention of Tlapiltepec in the lectures themselves, and therefore no explanation for Castellanos's shift of attribution. Nor did the caption explain where Tlapiltepec was. Because of its vagueness, subsequent commentators, as we shall see, declined to accept the caption as conclusive.

Rickards did not return to the charge. He had more troublesome problems on his mind. The Revolution had ruined his mining interests, and contracting to publish at his own expense 10,000 copies of his book *The Ruins of Mexico* (1910) had plunged him heavily into debt. In the same year that Castellanos attributed the lienzo to Tlapiltepec, Rickards, to raise enough money to support his family, was forced to sell the lienzo as well as many of his Zapotec urns, to C.T. Currelly, the resourceful and enterprising director of the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto. Currelly did not advertise his acquisition. In fact, it was not until nearly forty years later, when he wrote his memoirs, *I Brought the Ages Home*, that he published anything on the lienzo. There he was cautious itself, not mentioning Rickards by name, and describing the lienzo so sketchily that no one without inside knowledge would realize what it was he had bought:

We stayed about a month in Mexico [he wrote] as there was some question whether we could get permission to take things out of the country. This we

<sup>12</sup>The William Gates Papers, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

obtained when it was understood that nothing was going into commerce. The collection ran to several thousand pieces, the outstanding things being tomb figure vases. Numerous kinds of pottery, carved jades, and one long drawing on cotton were the main part of the collection (Currelly 1956: 270).

In 1918, the year after the Toronto purchase, Castellanos died. Rickards, who was five years younger than Castellanos, lived on until 1950, but he published nothing subsequently on the lienzo.

Indeed, it was not until 1940 that anyone again published anything on the lienzo. The man who returned to the subject was Herbert J. Spinden, who two years later was to buy the Lienzo of Ihuatlán for his department of American Indian Art and Primitive Cultures in the Brooklyn Museum. Spinden, a pioneer in the field, had proven as early as 1933 his knowledge and insight into Mexican pictorial manuscripts by pointing out Lady 6 Monkey's career in the Codex Selden (Spinden 1935). When he learned of the lienzo that Toronto had, he became interested and referred to it in "Diffusion of Maya Astronomy," the chapter he contributed to the volume dedicated to A.M. Tozzer (Spinden 1940: 162–178). Spinden was the first to publish for the benefit of fellow-researchers the little-known fact that Rickards's lienzo was now in the Royal Ontario Museum. His theme being Maya astronomy, he said little about the lienzo, but he did rechristen it. Ignoring Rickards's claim to use the Rickards name, and probably not remembering Castellanos's lecture at the Congress of Americanists thirty years earlier (which he had attended) Spinden called the document "Lienzo de Chicomoztoc." This was because of a glyph (Fig. 7) that many agree (interpreting the seven black circles as the mouths of caves in the periphery of the Earth Monster hill) represents what is commonly spelled Chicomoztoc, "The Place of the Seven Caves." Undoubtedly its conspicuous placement at the start of the lienzo—the lower left corner—suggested to Spinden that it was the glyph of the place the sheet came from. But geo-

graphically his new name was not helpful. Many Indian tribes, the Aztecs as well as the Mixtecs, hold that "The Place of the Seven Caves" was the place where their ancestors started on their migration to glory. The trouble is that no one has yet irrefutably located where the legendary Chicomoztoc was.<sup>13</sup>

As late as 1956 Caso believed, probably because Rickards's "Notes" were published by the Société des Américanistes, that Rickards's lienzo was in the society's library in Paris (Caso 1958a: 460–461). But Caso had had access to photographs of the lienzo, and in 1954 he brought out what was to be the first of a series of studies touching on it. It was a brilliant little book dealing primarily with a deerskin fragment that had turned up in Mexico that Caso called *Códice Gómez de Orozco*, in honor of Federico Gómez de Orozco, its Mexican purchaser (1958b). In his study, Caso showed how information on the fragment, when supplemented by information on the Selden Roll, revealed that Rickards's lienzo told the story of two migrations from Chicomoztoc (1958b: 18–20). It is a masterly piece of detection, and what Caso worked out will be added as a coda to this chapter. Meanwhile, this is what Caso contributed to the nomenclature of our document. Overlooking Spinden, as Spinden had overlooked Castellanos, Caso (1954: 18) played it safe by naming the sheet "Lienzo Antonio de León, *Códice Rickards* o Lienzo de Tlapiltepec, de Papalutla y Miltepec." But he did not venture to pinpoint its origin geographically.

Burland, working independently of Caso on a longer study of the migration in the Selden Roll, was understandably confused when confronted with Caso's multiplicity of names (Burland 1962). Believing "León" was in Mexico, unaware of what Castellanos had written, and thinking,

<sup>13</sup>Doris Heyden, however, has made a strong case for the possibility that the seven-chambered cavern under the Pyramid of the Sun at Teotihuacan might be the mythical Seven Caves (Heyden 1975: 131–147). Her article also reviews the literature and beliefs about Chicomoztoc.



because of its label, that “Codex Rickards” was the museum’s blueprint “left in a cardboard box in a store room,” Burland deduced the existence of three documents: his museum’s blueprint, “León,” and a copy of León known as the “Lienzo de Tlapiltepec, Papalutla y Miltepec.” His confusion was echoed in the bibliography that Gerdt Kutscher, of the Museum für Völkerkunde, furnished for the handsome reproduction of the Roll (Burland 1955). Kutscher cited “Tlapiltepec etc.” as related to “Rickards,” but he listed “Rickards” and “León” as separate documents. Both Burland and Kutscher included Tlapiltepec as a possible place of origin.

They were the last ones to do so. The same year, when José Alcina Franch published *Fuentes indígenas de Méjico*, although he knew of Castellanos’s speech to the 1910 Congress, he dropped mention of all villages and used the name Codex Rickards, “tambien conocido por el nombre de Lienzo de Antonio León” (Alcina Franch 1955: 73).

In 1958, when Caso used details from the lienzo to support his decipherment of Codex Baranda (Caso 1958b), he followed Alcina’s suit in dropping the names of the towns to which the lienzo had been credited. He also showed partiality to his fellow countryman by dropping the name Rickards. He called the lienzo simply “Antonio de León.” Again he did not try to locate the town of origin, but he indicated he was getting “warm,” for he said that the “León” and the Selden Roll showed that the related Codex Baranda must have come from a zone in the Mixteca near Coixtlahuaca.

Caso published his major study of the Toronto lienzo in 1961, and, because it accompanied his explication of the Lienzo of Ihuatlán, he called the joint study “Los Lienzos Mixtecos de Ihuatlán y Antonio de León (1961: 237–274). So Caso persisted in the León name, partly because he wanted to continue to honor the Mexican patriot, and partly because he still did not know exactly where the lienzo came from. Again he played it

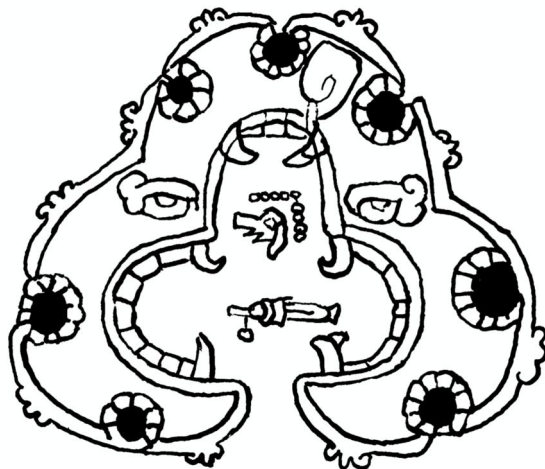


Fig.7 The glyph of Chicomoztoc as represented on the Lienzo of Tlapiltepec.

safe, saying that Castellanos first ascribed it to the Mixteca Baja, and then to Tlapiltepec in the Alta. He pointed out that the town of Tlapiltepec was depicted in both lienzos, but he did not say the Toronto lienzo came from there. In fact, he did not even hint it.

## The Visit to Tlapiltepec

By the time I left the Valley of Coixtlahuaca in 1960, the idea that had flashed into my mind on the roof of the Ihuatlán schoolhouse—to take a picture of Toronto’s lienzo to Tlapiltepec—had become a determination. As far as I was concerned, the possibility of the lienzo coming from the Mixteca Baja was knocked completely out of the running by finding that the “Ixtlan,” which shared so many details with Toronto’s lienzo, undoubtedly came from Coixtlahuaca. Besides, the great valley had captured my heart and I had loved my adventures there. My rationalization to justify another trip there went as follows: no doubt about it, Toronto’s lienzo must come from somewhere in the Coixtlahuaca basin; and this means that Castellanos, in his final attribution, may have been correct. If I had the Royal On-

tario Museum make a large photograph of its lienzo, I could test the Tlapiltepec hypothesis by taking it to the village. With luck, I might find some old men there who would recognize it as a reproduction of the lienzo that had been in their village prior to 1907—that is, if the village ever did possess a lienzo.

As I planned the new venture, I wondered: if the lienzo really did come from Tlapiltepec, who could it have been who tipped Castellanos off to the correct source of the document in which he was so interested? The informant must have been pretty sure of his facts to make the educator announce the new name, when Castellanos had stated so emphatically and so often that the lienzo came from the Mixteca Baja, and had even named it in honor of a hero from that region. Being proven wrong must have been a bitter pill for Castellanos. No wonder he did not want to swallow it conspicuously by explaining why, seven years later, he was advocating a different village.

The Toronto museum proved as obliging as the Brooklyn museum in providing a photograph three feet long. I had this one framed in Oaxaca, too. And Gabriel Blanco, the caretaker at Yanhuitlán who had helped me carry the picture to Ihuitlán the year before, was willing to help again this year. Again it was no simple enterprise; again there was a preliminary day's walk after leaving the highway, and the glass made the frame heavy and awkward to carry.

Our first destination was Tlacotepec Plumas where we planned to stay the night and elicit the help of Apolinar Cruz Santamaría, the friendly schoolteacher who had taught for four years in Tlapiltepec. He, we felt, could be our guide. Also, he was known to the people there and so he could vouch for us and give us introductions to the right oldsters. Apolinar proved as ready to fall in with the scheme as Blanco, and the three of us started out for Tlapiltepec the morning of October 1, 1961.

It was a pleasant Sunday walk over denuded,

undulating terrain, and Tlapiltepec proved closer than I anticipated, for I had thought it would need two or three hours to reach. The village was at the nadir of a sub-valley shaped almost like a funnel. As we neared the descent we were approached by an old man, and I felt that luck was playing immediately into our hands. But I was advised that it was useless to ask him any questions—the *anciano* was out of his mind. When we reached the center of the village, we learned there was only one other man likely to be old enough to be of help. His name was Severo Hernández, and we climbed back up the side of the funnel to reach his thatched hut. He wasn't there, but someone agreed to fetch him. When the gray-haired old man arrived, he shook hands graciously and agreed to look at the framed picture of the lienzo. He gazed at it with interest and seemed to comprehend it. I held my breath. But in a little while he shook his head. The 74-year-old Don Severo could not say if it was the town's lienzo or not. But he could tell us an important fact: Tlapiltepec once had a lienzo. Did he know its history? Indeed he did, and without hesitation he told us that it had been stolen in 1904, that Antonio Chávez of Nochixtlán was the man who had made off with it, and that Chávez had got hold of it during a dispute over land boundaries arbitrated in Coixtlahuaca.

If Don Severo knew so much about the Lienzo, I asked, how was it that he could not identify it? He was only seventeen at the time of the theft, he said, and his elders had never let him see it.

So near and yet so far! The proof I had felt forthcoming was not granted. And Don Severo agreed that there was no one else in the village who would be able to identify the lienzo. All the present town officials, he said, were relatively young men, and there were no old women likely to be of help. Since we did not know if the lienzo was Tlapiltepec's or not, it seemed pointless to leave the photograph with the village as a gift, and Apolinar said he would like to have it to hang in his schoolroom. So we carried it back to Tlacotepec.



As we returned, I summarized the situation. Now that we knew for sure that Tlapiltepec once had a lienzo, it was still more possible that Castellanos in his last year could have been right. And there was nothing irreconcilable between the 1904 date of the theft and Rickards's purchase of the lienzo in 1907. Internal evidence in the lienzo supported the possibility, too. Tlapiltepec, and its ruler Lord 3 Rain, who occupy a clearly named position on Ihuitlán's lienzo (Fig.8), are also shown on the Toronto lienzo. Furthermore, 3 Rain and his glyph occupy an important position on the Toronto sheet—at the midway point of the right side. The Toronto lienzo also depicts a number of 3 Rain's conquests. So the lienzo is one bearing a good deal of Tlapiltepec's history, which is displayed, as it were, as the final chapter. With the towns of Tlapiltepec and Ihuitlán being only an hour and a quarter's walk apart, and with Tlapiltepec information on the Lienzo of Ihuitlán, one would expect overlapping Ihuitlán information to appear also on a lienzo from Tlapiltepec. And bolstering the Castellanos case, the Toronto lienzo fulfills this expectation by showing six generations of Ihuitlán rulers.

But with all its old people gone, could the connection between Tlapiltepec and the lienzo ever be established unassailably? I was dubious, for I felt I had lost the last chance of proving the case. But this was reckoning without Professor Fidel López Carrasco—and this was understandable, since in 1961 I had no idea of his existence. Nor, having failed to find my proof in Tlapiltepec, did I have any anticipation that it would be discoverable in Oaxaca.

### The Proof—At Last!

Eleven years passed. Intermittently I kept on the trail of the Coixtlahuaca Valley lienzos, and every now and then I learned more about them. On April 29, 1970, as will be shown in the next chapter, I had the excitement of being shown two

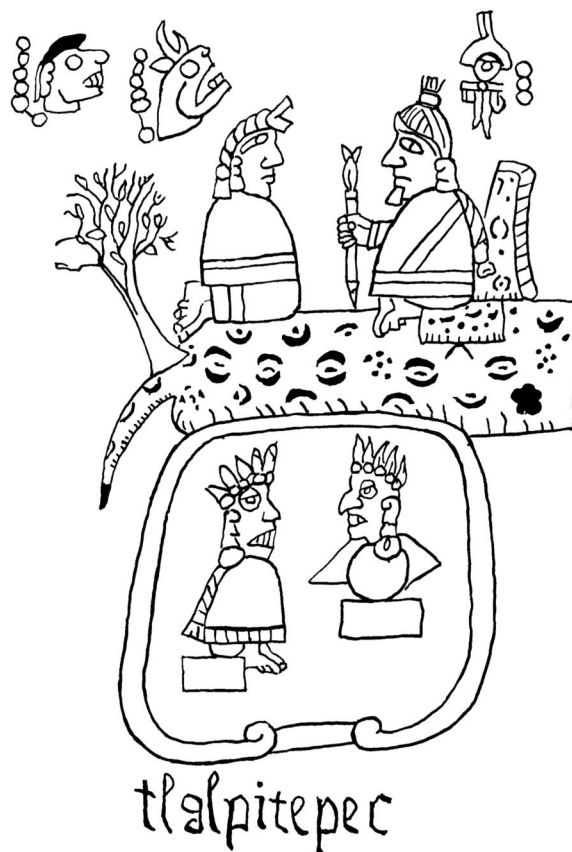


Fig.8 Lord 3 Rain and his wife Lady 6 Deer shown ruling at Tlapiltepec, as represented on the Lienzo of Ihuitlán.

that were previously unknown. But I learned nothing more about the lienzo in Toronto. However, on May 28, 1972, a totally different line of investigation—something to do with D.H. Lawrence's 1924–25 winter in Oaxaca—took me to the home of one of Oaxaca's local historians. By incredible luck, he turned out to be Fidel López Carrasco. My Lawrence question led him to consult the most important of the books he has written, a history of education in the state of Oaxaca (1950). My interest in his work prompted him to show me some of his other publications. My eyes lit up when I saw he had written a biographical sketch of Abraham Castellanos.

Did he know Castellanos? I asked. He didn't,

but his father had. Although his father was three years older than Castellanos, he had been one of the educator's students. Later they became friends, and when the older man also became an educator, they became collaborators. Wheels started whirring in my head. If the two men were that close, perhaps the son knew something about the lienzo that Castellanos said had come from Tlapiltepec.

There is something of the pixie in López Carrasco's face, and never will I forget how that elfin face lit up. I don't know which astonished and delighted the 68-year-old professor more: that I had heard of the lienzo of Tlapiltepec, or that he had met someone who was interested in what he knew about it. Indeed he did know about the lienzo. His father was the man who had set Castellanos straight on where it came from.

He and his father had the same name—Fidel López. After the son, too, became a professor they both added their mothers' surnames—Sandoval for the father, Carrasco for the son—so that people could distinguish one from the other. Fidel senior, who was born in Oaxaca in 1869, showed a talent for drawing at primary school; because of this he went to art school instead of high school.<sup>14</sup> Despite his lack of pedagogical training, at the age of nineteen he was made director of the Escuela de Tercera Clase in Tlapiltepec, the village from which his father had emigrated.

From my experience at the door when I asked for López Carrasco, I had learned that in his neighborly compound his nickname was "Profe." Soon, in the course of telling me about his father, Profe asked, "Do you know the name Manuel Martínez Gracida?"

I did, because he was the Oaxaca historian who had entrusted to the German archaeologist, Eduard Seler, the lienzo from Coixtlahuaca now

known as Seler II. Also, in seeking information about towns in the district of Coixtlahuaca, I had pored over Martínez Gracida's *Cuadros sinópticos* (1883). So I knew he was an often reelected Secretary of Oaxaca's state government and an indefatigable amasser of historical and archaeological information about his native state. I knew, too, how extensively he used local officials to provide him with reports on their regions. This meant I was very interested when Profe went to one of the filing cabinets in the office he has set up in his home and lifted out a manila folder containing letters written by Martínez Gracida to López Sr. in 1892. They were about drawings of archaeological sites and artifacts around Tlapiltepec that the young school teacher had been making for Martínez Gracida. They were to be used as illustrations for a massive work that the state secretary was compiling, *Los indios oaxaqueños y sus monumentos arqueológicos*.

Details from the Lienzo of Tlapiltepec were among the objects drawn for Martínez Gracida, Profe told me. Eagerly, I asked if he had any of his father's drawings of the lienzo. He shook his head. Then he took me into a large storeroom which was piled to the ceiling with cartons on well-ordered shelves. They contained his father's papers and his own. Perhaps some of his father's lienzo sketches were there, he said, but he did not know where to start hunting for them. The original drawings had gone to Martínez Gracida. And as we went back to the office, he told me how Martínez Gracida had obtained a scholarship for his father to return to Oaxaca to enter the Normal School for Men. There he could be trained to teach at more advanced schools in more promising locations than the third-class school in the impoverished village of San Mateo Tlapiltepec. So his father left Tlapiltepec at the end of 1892.

This time I was nearer to proof than I had been in Tlapiltepec eleven years before, but Profe scrupulously volunteered the warning that his evidence was based on hearsay. Not having been

<sup>14</sup>*Oaxaca Gráfico*, one of Oaxaca's daily newspapers, published a good two-part biographical study by Prof. Saturnino Monterrosa of Fidel López Sandoval in its issues of May 22 and 23, 1969: "Fidel López Sandoval: Semblanza de un Educador Oaxaqueño."

born until 1904, he was too young to know when his father corrected Castellanos about the lienzo, and he had never seen any of his father's lienzo drawings. All he knew was what his father had told him. But I gathered that his father had told him still more, and this was quickly confirmed when he told me the story of how Tlapiltepec lost its lienzo. Not letting on to what Don Severo had told me, I listened with increasing belief as Profe's details dovetailed with and amplified what the *anciano* had told me in the village. Chávez of Nochixtlán, Profe said, was the man who stole the lienzo. And he added a middle initial for me. He was Antonio M. Chávez. The man, he continued, was a *tinterillo* or *huizachero*, terms for a man familiar with the laws and who often acts as a lawyer, even though he does not have a title. He explained not only the land case, but how Chávez came in on it. Tlapiltepec was having disputes over frontier limits with two of its western neighbors, Jicotlán to the north and Tulancingo to the south (Fig. 3). The hearing was to be in Coixtlahuaca, the *cabecera* of the district, and Lic. José Inés Dávila, a leading Oaxaca lawyer, commissioned Chávez to settle the case. Believing their lienzo would help support their claims, the elders of Tlapiltepec included it among the documents they took to Coixtlahuaca. After the settlement, Chávez returned all their documents except the lienzo. The villagers made repeated appeals to Lic. Dávila to make Chávez return it. The appeals were in vain, and Dávila grew bored with the case. The last Profe heard of Chávez was that in 1920 he was living in Tlacolula when his father, López Sr., was Municipal Treasurer there. The reputed price that Chávez got for selling the lienzo to Rickards was 800 pesos. By way of covering his tracks, Chávez, according to the professor, misled both Rickards and Castellanos as to where the lienzo had come from.

Did he know the date of the theft? I asked. Here he had to do some calculating. It was sometime after his father left Tlapiltepec and before

the death of his grandfather in 1909. Narrowing it down still further, he said it must have been between 1896 and 1905. He beamed when I revealed that Don Severo had set it at 1904.

After graduating from the Normal School in 1897, his father stayed on as the school's secretary. But jobs became political footballs during the Revolution, and López Sr. was temporarily thrown out of the school system. Thereupon Castellanos saw that his friend got a job as keeper of the state archive. By this time Castellanos's first two papers on the lienzo he was calling "Antonio de León" had been published, the first (1912a) showing three details from the sheet, the other (1912b), six. Because the professor was not present when his father corrected Castellanos, he does not know which detail came to his father's attention first. But he was thirteen when the unacknowledged correction appeared in print (Castellanos 1917), and he could remember being shown it and being told the story behind it. His father, he said, on seeing the details that Castellanos had published (probably in his second paper) realized they were from the lienzo he had studied in Tlapiltepec as he made drawings of it for Martínez Gracida. Castellanos used to drop in often on López Sr., and on his next visit López told his friend why he felt certain the lienzo had not come from the Mixteca Baja.

At this point the professor went to another of his files and this time he produced a copy of Castellanos's *Conferencias* (1917). Opening it to the figure I already knew, he pointed to the caption that said the detail was from the Lienzo of Tlapiltepec. That, he said, was the correction made because of his father's evidence.

Profe's shining honesty had impressed me from the start. The case was closed as far as I was concerned. But I recognized that some skeptics would want documentary proof, as well as my account of the professor's memories of his father's stories. Martínez Gracida died in 1923, his *magnum opus* about Oaxaca, which was ready for the printers in 1910, still unpublished, a victim of the vicissitudes

of the Revolution (López de Escalera 1964: 666). Did the professor know what had become of the Martínez Gracida papers? I asked, thinking his father's drawings might be among them.

Profe only knew part of the story. After Martínez Gracida's death, his papers were acquired by Genaro V. Vásquez, Governor of Oaxaca between 1926 and 1928. And now Vásquez was dead, too. The big question was what his widow was going to do with the papers. A few weeks later I learned that the Museo Nacional de Antropología was dickering to buy them. I breathed a sigh of relief. This gave promise that at some time in the future I could gain access to those papers and search them for drawings made eighty years before by a young schoolteacher in Tlapiltepec.

I was away from Oaxaca during the 1972–73 winter, but not long after my return I heard some good news. The Martínez Gracida papers had not gone to the National Museum after all—they had been acquired by Oaxaca. What is more, the Genaro V. Vásquez Library, which opened December 5, 1972, had been established to house them in the Casa de la Cultura.

June 17, 1973, was the day of the party where I met Augusto García Moguel, the librarian in charge, and he assured me the public was free to see the papers. Early the next morning, equipped with a manila envelope of detail photographs of the Toronto lienzo, I went to the Casa de la Cultura. The new library, I was told, was on the second floor of the reconstructed nunnery. I found it had been carried out with the same excellent taste as was everything else in the lovely old building, with glass cases lining the walls, and well-lighted reading desks to accommodate students. Sr. Moguel, an ex-army officer who was proud of his new domain, greeted me courteously and asked immediately if I would like to see the collection's most precious book.

While I held up the lid of the horizontal glass case as he lifted out the tome, I learned it was the fifth and final volume of those assigned for the plates to illustrate *Los indios oaxaqueños y sus monu-*

*mentos arqueológicos*. It was dated 1910 and the red leather spine stamped *Etnografía*. Because it displayed two Indians in native costumes as it lay open in the glass case, I did not expect that it would interest me especially—ethnography is relatively low in my range of interests. But I did not want to rush Sr. Moguel, so I restrained my impatience as I let him turn over one highly colored page after another. Baskets, bows and arrows, weapons, items of clothing—all depicted with painstaking exactitude—passed in succession under my eyes. The watercolors were so neat and professional in appearance that they gave the impression of already having been printed. Sr. Moguel went slowly. I could tell he intended to show me through to the end of the book, and I had not yet had a chance to tell him what I particularly hoped to find. Some paintings of Pre-Columbian *atlatts* (throwing sticks) and *teponaztlis* (percussion instruments) perked up my interest, but it slumped again as we came to more costumes. However, after passing Plate 38, we came to an unexpected section devoted to glyphs of towns. I looked more closely at the glyphs of Oaxaca, Zaachila, and several other places, and when we got to Plate 43 I was genuinely excited. "The glyph of 'Coixtlahuaca,'" said the caption, and I recognized the intertwined serpents enveloping a hill as being copied from Seler II, the lienzo that Martínez Gracida let Seler take to Berlin. So that Sr. Moguel could know why it interested me so much, I drew out the photograph of the glyph for the same place on the lienzo in Toronto. He noted the artistic differences, but recognized the common elements.

Then he flopped over the page to expose Plate 44. And what did it contain? The very image of the glyph we had been studying in my photograph. Their similarity can be seen by comparing Figures 9 and 10. The caption stated that Lámina 44 showed the glyph of Tlapiltepec. And where was the glyph copied from? The "Códice del Pueblo." No sooner had I realized that this meant the town's lienzo, than Sr. Moguel spotted the signature below the drawing.

"F. López," he read off.

To his astonishment, I waltzed him around as I hugged him. Not only had I found documentary proof to show that the lienzo in Toronto came from Tlapiltepec, but, without knowing what I was after, the librarian had found for me the one painting I had hoped to find—the very painting that Profe's father had sent to Martínez Gracida in 1892. The last doubt that there was anything apocryphal in the professor's story was swept away. Sr. Moguel was almost as excited as I was when I told him what the painting proved. As he studied it in conjunction with the photograph, he noted how López's parrot in the circle was more naturalistic than the original. I also pointed out two evidences that López had not understood Pre-Columbian picture writing sufficiently to recognize all he was copying. He had shown both serpents bristling with flint knives, whereas in the original the serpent on the left sported feathers. Further, he had dressed the two little men projecting from the sides in black-dotted green union suits, whereas in the lienzo they were wearing turtle carapaces. But López's vivid colors dramatized two features of the glyph. The bright yellow of the serpents underlined their inter-bestial oddity: they had jaguar heads. And the green, blue, and red chosen for the circles and ovals in the volutes of the red hill made plain that they represented beads on a string.

"Is there a text related to the plates?" I asked the librarian, hoping for more information about the lienzo. For answer he consulted the *Inventario* of the papers. The eight volumes of text for *Los indios* were numbered Volumes 17 to 24, and Volume 21 had the same subtitle as the collection of plates containing the glyph, *Etnografía*. When he brought it from one of the upright glass cases, I found the reference easily enough. It was brief, but confirmed what we had deduced: "One found this hieroglyph in the lienzo or codex of Tlapiltepec whence Fidel López, a native of the town, copied it." (*Se encontró este geroglífico en el*

*lienzo ó códice de Tlapiltepec de donde lo copio el Sr. D. Fidel López, original del pueblo.*)

Now there could be no doubt left. Toronto's great sheet came from Tlapiltepec in the Mixteca Alta. Its rightful name had been found, the Lienzo of Tlapiltepec.

## Unscrambling the Glyphs

The discussion of the lienzo's place of origin, however, cannot be closed just yet. Because López Sr., the artist-father, passed on a serious mistake about the lienzo, and because Martínez Gracida perpetuated that mistake in his caption, a further responsibility remains. Otherwise, in using the López watercolor to establish one truth, we would be using it to widen credence of a misconception that undercut most of the gains to be derived from exact knowledge of where it came from. The blunt truth is that the glyph López copied, and that Martínez Gracida captioned and stood ready to reproduce, is not the glyph of Tlapiltepec. The 24-year-old schoolteacher was misled into thinking it was by its conspicuous place on the lienzo. He did not have the knowledge to recognize his mistake, for by his time the people of the area had lost the ability to decipher those of their documents that used the pictorial conventions of their ancestors.

The glyph of the interlaced serpents that López copied is of a place—perhaps even a legendary place—where the forebears of many ruling families in the Coixtlahuaca Valley engaged in an important ceremony, signalized by the making of fire. This ceremony has already been pointed out in connection with Figure 6, and can be seen more easily in Figure 10, where the fire-makers (omitted by López) are reproduced on a scale large enough for the man holding the ornamented lance and the man rotating the fire drill to be clearly visible. Though Martínez Gracida captioned this glyph of the interlaced serpents as that of Tlapiltepec in his Plate 44, in his Plate 43, which the librarian and I saw first, he captioned a

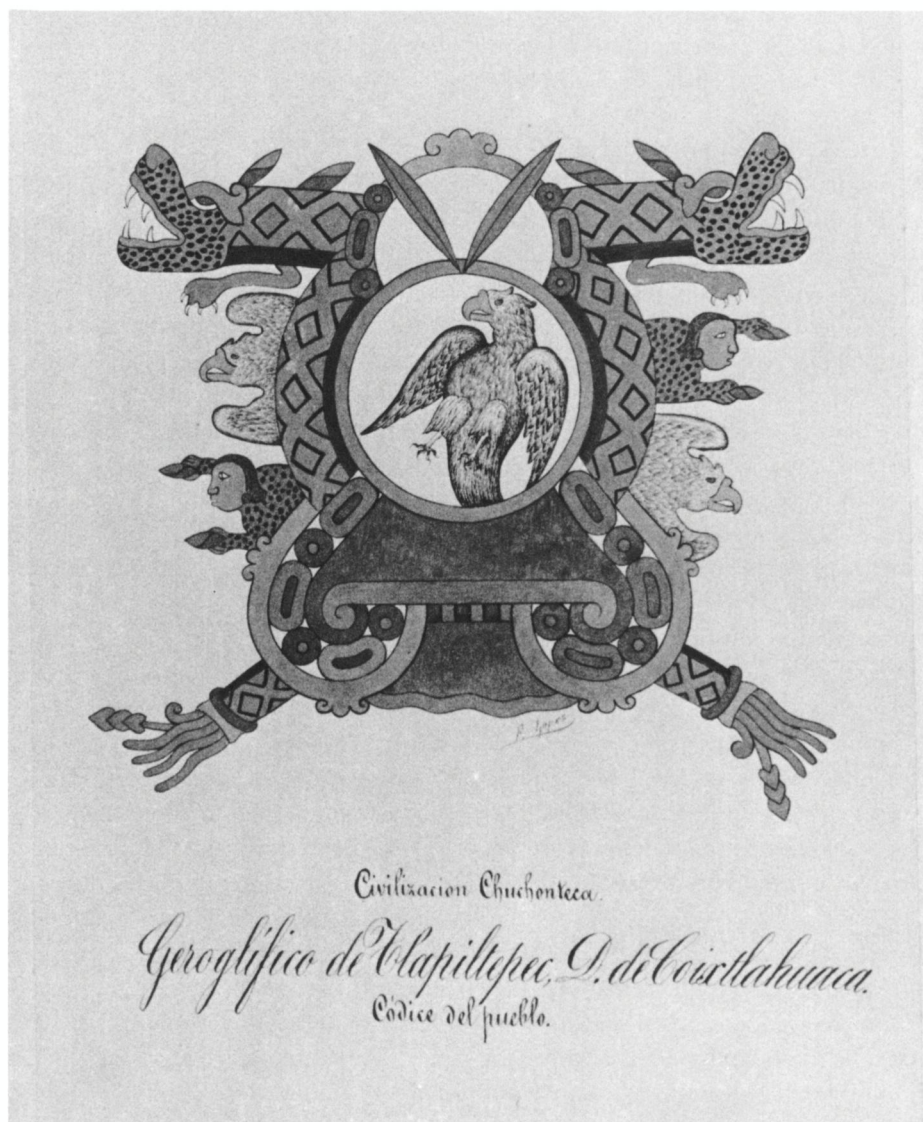


Fig.9 Fidel López's clinching drawing of a detail of the Lienzo of Tlapiltepec made in Tlapiltepec. Photograph courtesy of the Casa de Cultura, Oaxaca.



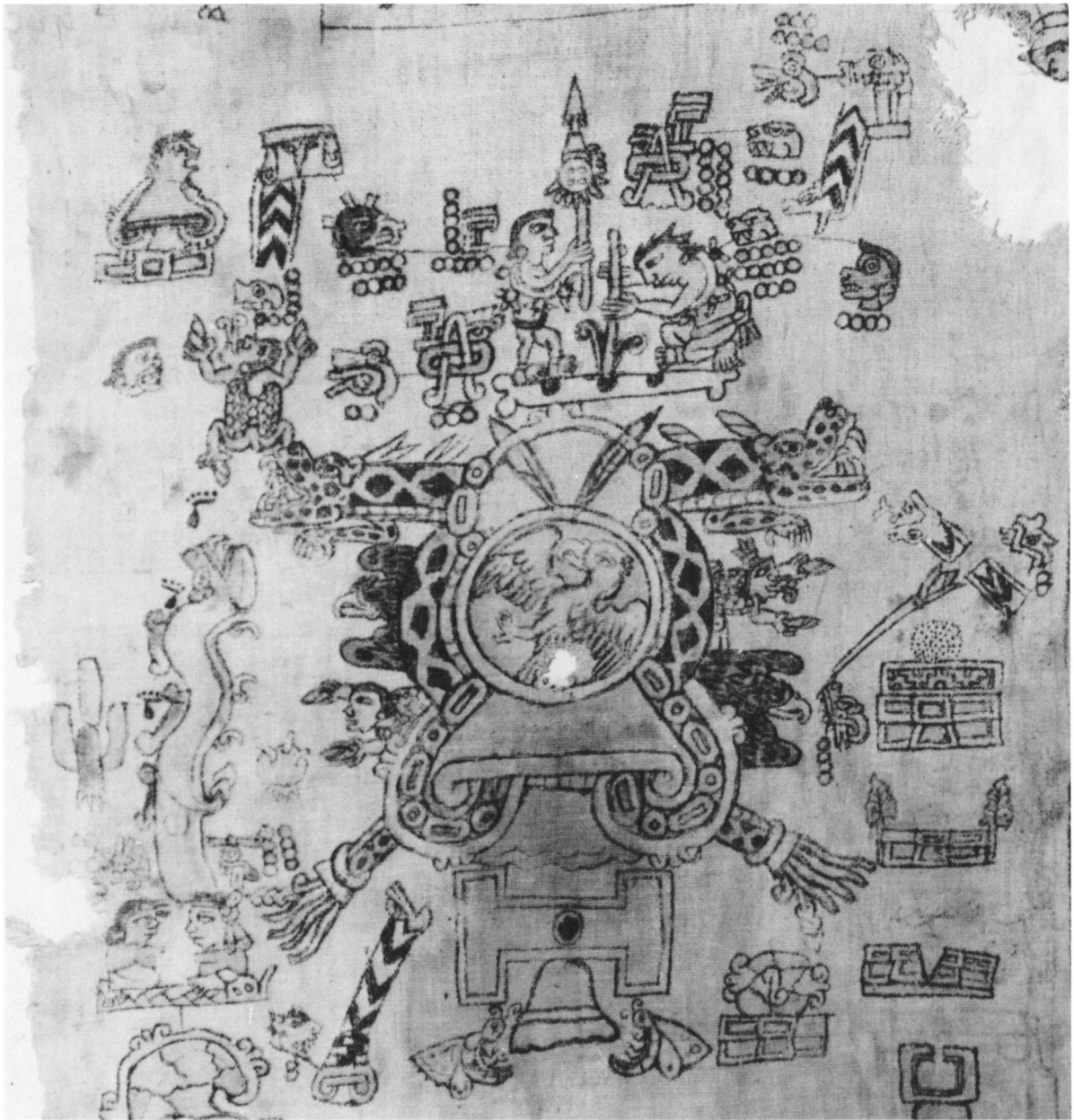


Fig.10 The same detail on the Lienzo of Tlapiltepec. Photograph courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.

different version of the same symbolic representation as the glyph of Coixtlahuaca. Probably Martínez Gracida was right the first time, but here I would like to inject an element of doubt. Several documents containing this glyph of the interlaced serpents also show important Coixtlahuaca genealogies rising from somewhat different glyphs. In four of them, including the Lienzo of Ihuitlán (Fig. 4), there is only a single serpent. And there are elements missing here, such as a heart and a whirlpool of water. Perhaps this glyph of the two serpents, intercoiling around a hill, shows the Coixtlahuaca of very early times, the ancestral home claimed by many lineages, whereas the others show the Coixtlahuaca of established history, ruled for many generations by the forefathers of the people who were supporting their land claims to the Spaniards. Perhaps both Coixtlahuacas were in the riverside position occupied by the present Coixtlahuaca (Fig. 3); perhaps they were in different places, one being at a higher elevation than the other, with their territories only overlapping in part. All I know is that the true glyph of Tlapiltepec is elsewhere on the lienzo. Perhaps that it is not in a visually dominant position—as are the home glyphs of many lienzos—was a factor misleading López. And perhaps by not understanding the direction in which the lienzo was to be read, he did not realize that the glyph's correct position in the middle of the right side was more important than its size indicated. From the historical point of view, it has the culminating position, for the last part of the lienzo, as I have said, is devoted to the conquests of the great lord of Tlapiltepec, 3 Rain.

Martínez Gracida's mistaken concept of the etymology of the name Tlapiltepec might have been another factor blinding López and himself as to where to look for the right glyph, or, more likely, in recognizing the right one on seeing it. The name to Martínez Gracida, as he published it in *Cuadros sinópticos* (1883) meant "the skirt or hem of the hill," based on the Nahuatl word *tepetl* meaning hill, and another Nahuatl word *tlapilli*,

which he felt meant *falda* or *cola* (skirt or tail). When one is at Tlapiltepec, such an interpretation seems eminently reasonable. Situated as it is in its funnellike valley at the base of the cross ridge, as the ridge starts growing steeper in joining the side walls of the valley, Tlapiltepec is literally a village at the hem of a hill. But as José María Bradomín, author of *Toponimia de Oaxaca*, has pointed out (1955: 26), if the town name really meant "the skirt of the hill" in Nahuatl, it would be Tepetltlapilco. *Tlapilli*, he argues, does not mean "skirt" or "tail," but "knot," or "fastening" or "binding" (*nudo* or *atadura*). Tlapiltepec, in consequence, means "the hill of the knot, or fastening," (*en el cerro del nudo o atadura*), or "on the knotted hill" (*en el cerro anudado*). The pictorial evidence shows that Bradomín is right.

Particularly convincing evidence is to be seen in Figure 11, which I have copied from another lienzo of the Coixtlahuaca Valley that I do not want to discuss until the next chapter. This representation makes its meaning doubly certain, for below the glyph is a gloss in a sixteenth century hand, making the representation of the symbol plain for readers of European script. Though it misplaces the second "l", the gloss says the bell-shaped form with the slack reef-knot is the glyph of Tlapiltepec. With the slightest coaching, any eye, independent of its owner's language, can see that it depicts the Hill of the Knot.

The Lienzo of Tlapiltepec has only a few glosses, and all are for unimportant places, but with the identified symbol of Figure 11, the glyph of Tlapiltepec becomes easy to find. As Figure 12 shows, it is a representation of the same idea in a somewhat different form. Instead of a single knot, it presents a hill tied with a knotted rope, with the fastening knot squarely to the front near the top of the hill. It might be added that the two representations provide a nice instance of one of the pleasures of working with the closely-related valley lienzos in the way they throw light on each other.

A number of Mexican states have places of the



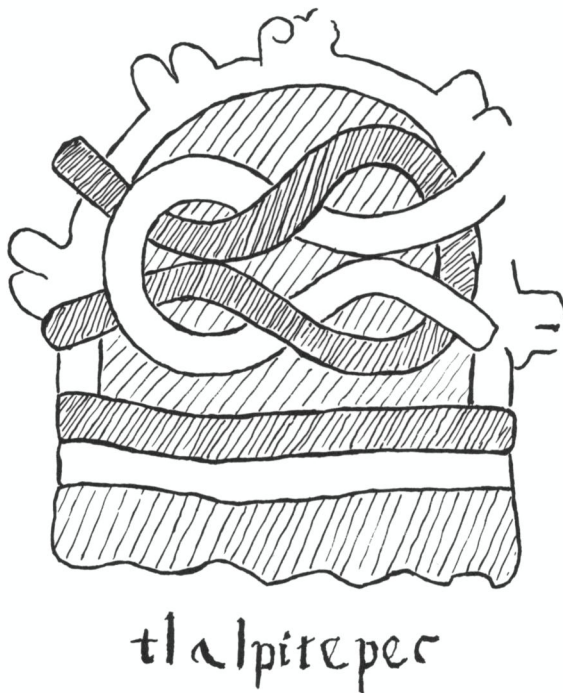


Fig. 11 The glyph of Tlapiltepec as drawn and glossed on the large Lienzo of Tequixtepec (Tequixtepec I).

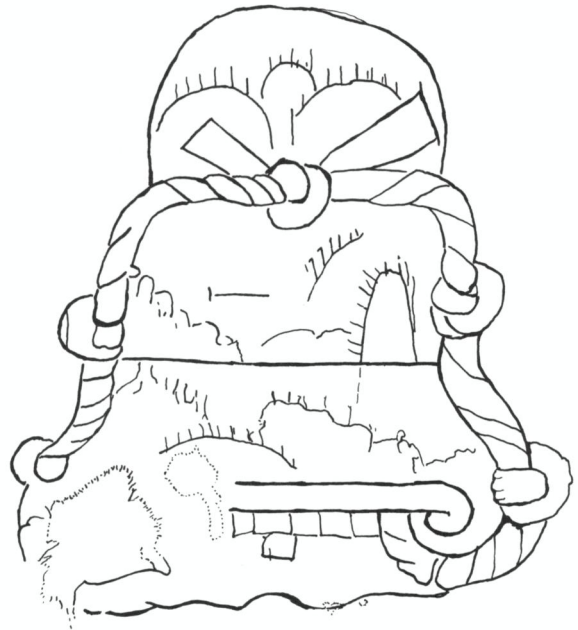


Fig. 12 The chief glyph of Tlapiltepec as shown on the Lienzo of Tlapiltepec.

same name, so a stickler for proof is entitled to ask, "How can you be sure the two Hills of the Knot are the same place?" The reply to that is, "Since both lienzos come from the same region it is extremely likely." But we don't have to be content with this. A third lienzo from the valley provides irrefutable confirmation. As we have already seen in Figure 8, Tlapiltepec is also represented on the Lienzo of Ihuitlán. We can be sure of its representation there because it, too, has a gloss, with Tlapiltepec spelled as it is spelled on the other glossed lienzo (probably an indication of the way the town's difficult Nahuatl name sounded to Spanish ears unaccustomed to Mexican names).

Here our stickler can be imagined to raise a different objection: "I'll concede that the voluted frame in Figure 8, with the two figures perched on boxes might be a hill, even though it is not exactly bell-shaped, but where's the knot?" And

he would be right: there is no sign of it. The proof that it is the same place lies in the royal couple seated on the jaguar skin on top of the hill. Because I have prepared for the identification, the reader can see that the husband with the top knot and the lance is Lord 3 Rain. The woman with the wool braided in her hair, seated before him like a Japanese woman, is his wife Lady 6 Deer. (A second wife of lesser importance, Lady 6 Monkey, is represented only by her name.) Before taking the next step, let me point out the tree behind Lady 6 Deer growing as if from the tail of the jaguar skin. Perhaps this is part of the glyph of Tlapiltepec not shown in the other versions I've presented.

Now look at Figure 13, which shows the section of the Lienzo of Tlapiltepec from which I drew its Hill of the Knot. That glyph can be recognized on the upper left. In the center, on a

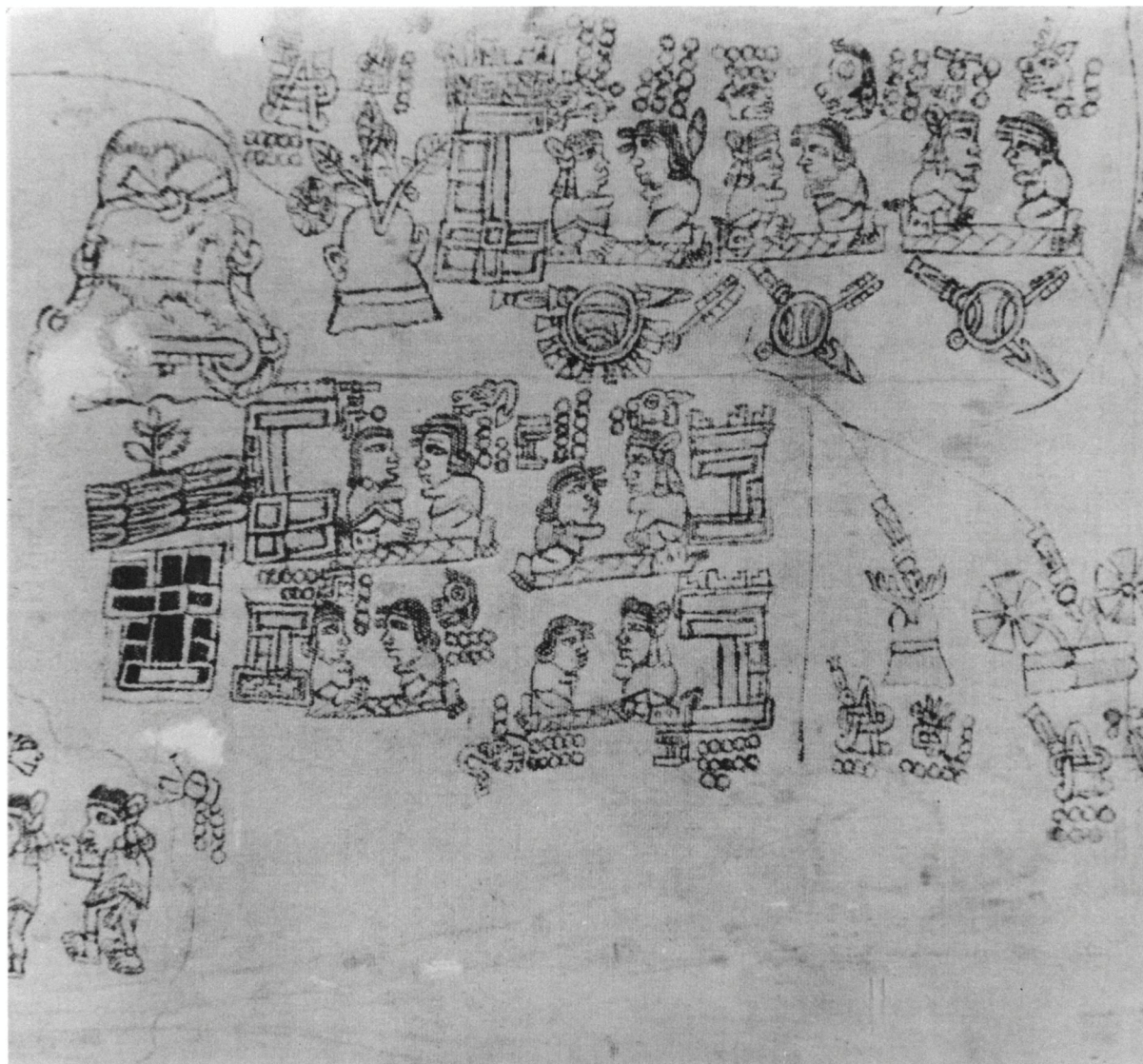


Fig.13 Lord 3 Rain and Lady 6 Deer located at the right end of the top line, are shown ruling on the Lienzo of Tlapiltepec. Photograph courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.

horizontal line in front of the temple shown in profile, are three couples. Probably they represent three generations. And who make the third couple on the right? The very pair we saw facing each other on top of the glyph of Tlapiltepec in the Ihuitlán lienzo—Lord 3 Rain and Lady 6 Deer. Here they are seated on a *petate* (a woven straw mat) rather than on a jaguar skin. So now

we know for sure that the two Hills of the Knot are uncontestably the same place. Besides being represented by similar glyphs, two lienzos show them as ruled by the same rulers. But the Lienzo of Tlapiltepec shows a second hill, an odd one indeed, with human ears and a plant or tree growing near the top. Figure 14 shows the hill enlarged.

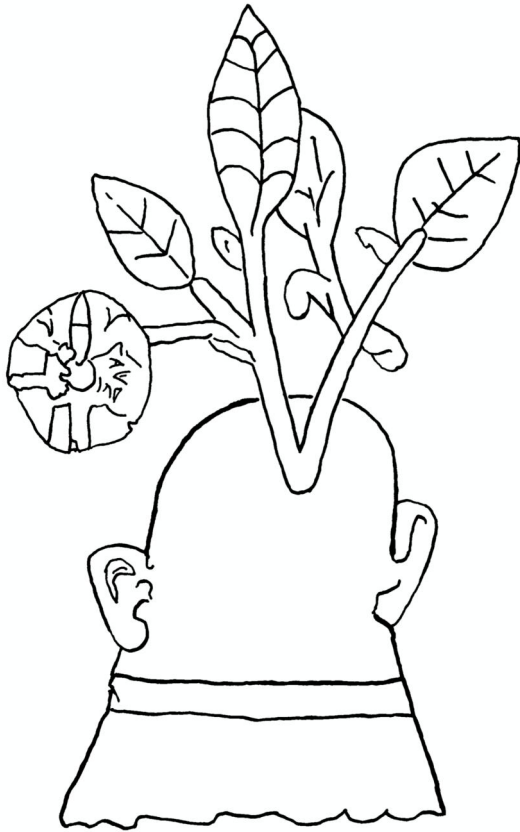


Fig. 14 The secondary glyph of Tlapiltepec (the earred hill with the sun flower) as shown on the Lienzo of Tlapiltepec.

Note that the plant has a flower. Alfonso Caso's sharp eye and knowledge of Pre-Columbian symbols helped me to recognize the rather debased version as a representation of a sun disk; the reader can make the same recognition by comparing it in Figure 15 with the solar disk taken from page 21 of the Codex Nuttall (1902), one of the codices painted when the style was at its purest and most exact, before the coming of the Spaniards. Because of the sunlike flower, Caso (1961: 269) calls the place "Hill of the Plant-Sun-Ears." My hunch is that it is included in the Lienzo of Tlapiltepec because at one time two domains were amalgamated, that of the Hill of the Knot and that of the Earred Hill of the Sun-

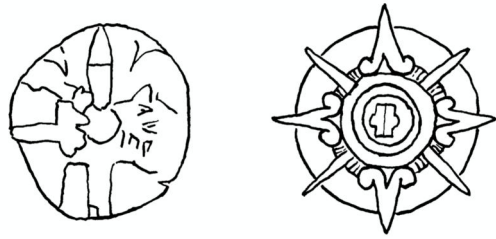


Fig. 15 Two sun disks, one from the Post-Conquest Lienzo of Tlapiltepec (*left*), the other from the Pre-Conquest Codex Nuttall (*right*).

like Flower. It may have been through marriage, the ruling male of one marrying the ruling female of the other, or it may have been through conquest. This last seems likely, because the shields and weapons depicted below the three generations shown in residence at Tlapiltepec (Fig. 13) indicate rulers of exceptional military prowess or activity. That Lord 3 Rain was a man who made important conquests himself is shown by evidence on this lienzo, as well as on that of Ihuitlán. Witness the symbols of conquest—arrows embedded in place glyphs—beneath him. Lord 3 Rain's story should be the subject of a separate article. It is only the glyph of his place that is our concern here, but as a final note I would like to mention another hunch.

The glyphs of places shown in various Mixtec documents often differ in style, in conventions employed, in number of elements and in their degree of complexity. Not every glyph contains every element associated at one time or another with a given place. Tlapiltepec's glyph, for instance, is depicted in Figure 8 without the knot and in Figure 11 without the plant. What I suspect is that the plant, like an almost leafless tree as shown in Ihuitlán's lienzo (Fig. 8) is a degenerate version of the plant with the sunlike flower shown in Tlapiltepec's lienzo (Fig. 14). One reason for this belief is that the Ihuitlán plant shows much more European art influence in its manner of depiction than does the Tlapiltepec plant. If the Ihuitlán lienzo is the work of a later period, as

many signs indicate, its artist, employed by the feather-market town, could well have forgotten, or perhaps never known, that a knot, human ears, and a flower like a sun disk were once part of Tlapiltepec's composite glyph when that neighboring barony held its greatest power. That the hill of the plant is missing from the Ihuitlán lienzo with the reef-knot version of the glyph, supports the evidence that the plant, sunlike flower, and ears became part of a subsidiary heraldic complex some time after the name-giving Hill of the Knot device had already been established.

Together the three lienzos provide a neat case history of glyphic depictions over a long period of time. Stylistically, the lienzo I have held back on identifying gives evidence of being the document painted earliest, for its artistic conventions are closest to those that prevailed before the Spaniards. So we can say that the artistic span illustrated by the glyphs shown here extends from shortly before the Spanish Conquest until towards the end of the sixteenth century. The glyphs also suggest the transformation of native heraldry throughout the same period. It is little wonder that three hundred years later the young Fidel López Sr. was confused when the introduction by the Spaniards of an alphabet-based graphic system, that could be easily written and read, caused such painstakingly drawn heraldry to fall into still further disuse. But we can be grateful for his drawing. By proving which town treasured the lienzo as its principal historic record, the drawing has brought everything on the lienzo into sharper focus, geographical as well as historical. Now the lienzo does more than preserve a good deal of the history of the region—something that has been apparent to experts since 1940. It also preserves the history of a known town, and in doing so preserves the particular slant held by that town on the history of the valley as a whole.

Mention of the cherishing of the lienzo by the town points up an ironic development. According to Fidel López Carrasco, the entire Tlapiltepec archive was destroyed by fire in 1940, two

years before his father died. Had the lienzo not been stolen from the town, it would not have been preserved for posterity to puzzle over its many undeciphered clues.

### This Lienzo Also a Map

Despite my geography lesson on the roof of Ihuitlán's school, it was thirteen years before I realized that the Lienzo of Tlapiltepec was also a map. Its historical and genealogical aspects were among the absorbing factors blinding me for so long to this possibility. Another was the confusing orientation of many of its sections. After my frustration in Tlapiltepec in 1961, I must admit I pored over my photographs of the lienzo less often. But, with verification of the fact that Tlapiltepec was its place of origin, my interest in the document regained its original keenness. On July 12, 1973, seeking help in improving my rough map of the towns of the Coixtlahuaca Valley, I took, along with the sketchy map, a photograph of the lienzo to Cecil Welte's office-library. The office (see footnote 1), looking out on the flank of the Oaxaca Cathedral, had also drawn David A. Peterson to it the same morning. After listening to the young archaeologist's theories about Oaxaca's Pre-Columbian fortified hills, I showed him the map of the Coixtlahuaca Valley that I had brought to improve. By accident, my photograph of the lienzo, face up but inverted, was lying to the left of the map.

"Are any of these places on the map shown on the lienzo?" Dave asked.

"Yes," I said. "Here's Monte Verde on the lienzo," and I pointed to the largest in a cluster of three hills, which, because the photograph was upside down, was in the lower left corner. When I pointed to Monte Verde on the map (Fig. 3), I was startled to see it was also in the lower left corner. An idea dawned, then flashed over my mental horizon as I pointed to the two interlaced serpents of Coixtlahuaca on the lienzo. I saw they had the same spatial relationship to Monte Verde



on the lienzo as they had on the map. Eagerly I looked for the Hill of the Knot, and darned if its position on the lienzo did not correspond to that of Tlapiltepec on the map!

"The lienzo must be a map too," I said excitedly to Dave. And we were both convinced that at least the lower half was, when we saw that the glyphs of Tulancingo, Tepelmeme, and Ihuitlán also held positions on the lienzo that corresponded to the locations of those towns on the map. Not only was the first section of the lienzo a map when viewed turned around to its starting orientation, but it was, for its time, a remarkably accurate one.

Figure 16 indicates what Dave and I saw. I made the tracing by placing the paper over a large photo of the lienzo turned with its top at the bottom; I then traced the glyphs that represented towns still existing in the valley. By doing this, I knew that no matter how much the traced glyphs might be reduced in photographic reproduction, they would always have the same spatial relationship to each other in my figure as they have on the lienzo.

The glyphs chosen were those of six Pre-Hispanic settlements whose glyphs have been identified with certainty. Although not glossed on the lienzo, I have equipped the glyphs in the figure with the names of the places they represent. Six of them have already appeared in the story:

- Monte Verde (Green Mountain)—the highest hill of the valley at its southwest corner;
- Coixtlahuaca (Plain of the Serpent)—observe how the serpents are intertwined here as in the place of the making of the new fire;
- Tulancingo (Little Place of the Tules, or, as translated from the Nahuatl, the Reeds)—see how the reed cattail is realistically drawn at the head of the steps of the temple platform;
- Tequixtepec (Hill of the Teciztli, because *teciztli* is the Nahuatl word for the large sort of conch shell the Pre-Columbian people converted into trumpets, and that object, seem-

ing to be supported point upward, as if by a question mark, is a *teciztli*);

- Tlapiltepec (already familiar as Hill of the Knot);
- Ihuitlán (Place of Feathers)—note how feathers are indicated by the two down balls and the horizontally stacked feathers on which the diminutive Christian church stands; note, too, how this glyph of the town differs from the one showing a black serpent penetrating a hill surmounted by an axe, further evidence that glyphs were not immutable.

When the six locations are viewed on the modern map (Fig. 3), it can be seen that the diagonal alignment of Monte Verde, Coixtlahuaca, and Tequixtepec is identical on both map and lienzo. Tulancingo and Ihuitlán, to be placed with the precision of modern cartography, should both be farther west,<sup>15</sup> but they have the right south-to-north relationship to each other, as they have to the four other places. Places not included in the figure also conform in placement on the lienzo to their placement on the map. So the fact that the lienzo is a map in one of its functions is incontestable. When one considers the limits imposed by the long rectangularity of the sheet, plus the problems of including so many drawings of events and so many genealogies, it is remarkable that the artist managed to create a map with so little distortion, especially when he could have had little knowledge of European surveying, and

<sup>15</sup>The Ihuitlán on the lienzo might not be as far off base as it appears. The lienzo of the present town of Ihuitlán Plumas, as previously explained, shows two Ihuitláns: "Santiago Yuitla," and an earlier settlement glossed "Pinoyalco Yuitla." The former is clearly the present town, for Santiago (Saint James) is the patron saint of Ihuitlán Plumas. The Ihuitlán on the Lienzo of Tlapiltepec is the earlier town Pinoyalco Ihuitlán, because its five-generation genealogy is the one shown flourishing at Pinoyalco in Brooklyn's glossed lienzo. I have not been able to find a satisfactory translation for Pinoyalco, but perhaps the ancestral feather market was once somewhat east of the later one, and it is the location of the old one that is indicated on the Tlapiltepec lienzo. Perhaps only the lords of the earlier Ihuitlán were pertinent to the history of Tlapiltepec.

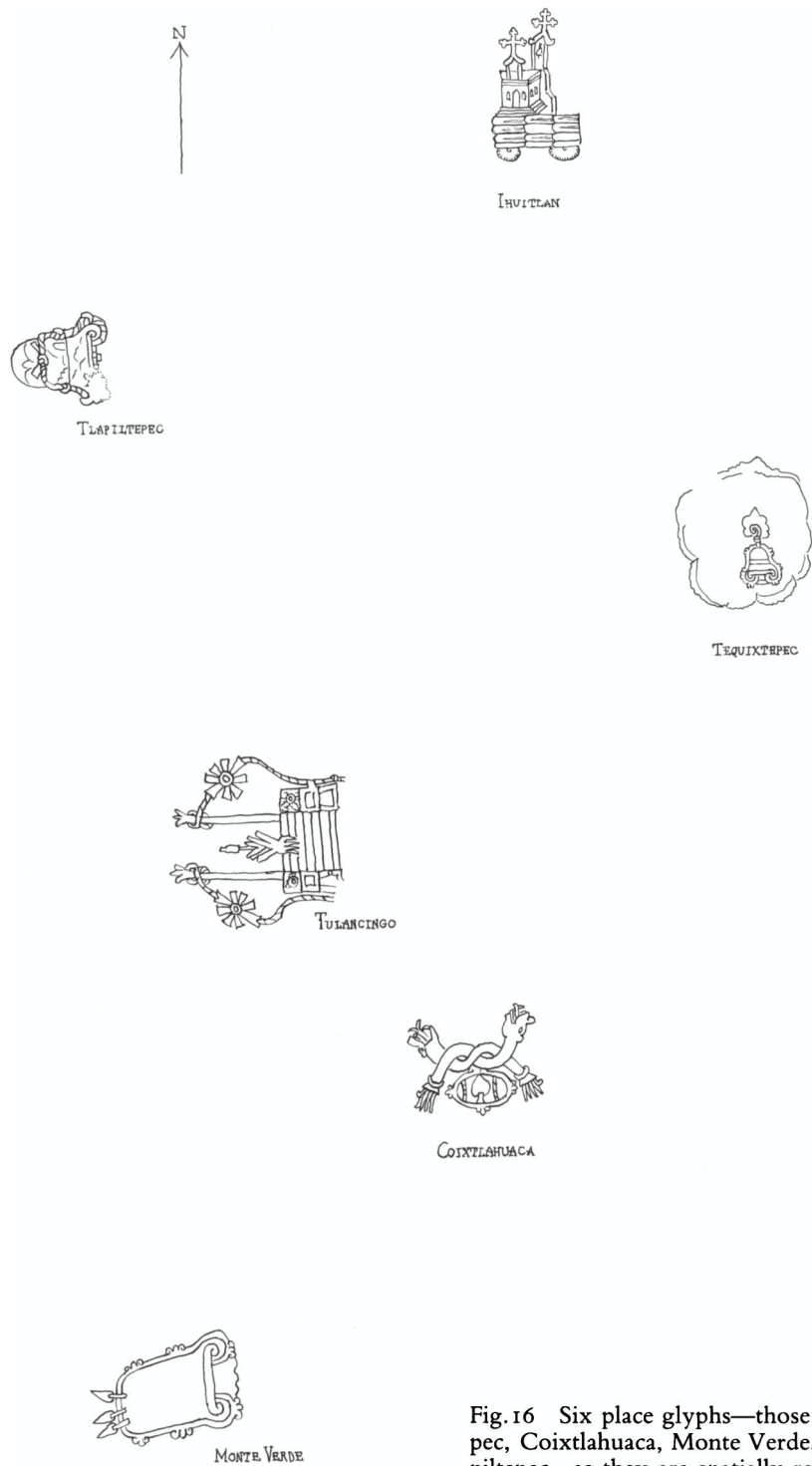


Fig. 16 Six place glyphs—those of Ihuitlán, Tequixtepec, Coixtlahuaca, Monte Verde, Tulancingo, and Tlapiltepec—as they are spatially related on the Lienzo of Tlapiltepec.



Fig.17 The glyph of Aztatla as drawn on the Lienzo of Ihuitlán.

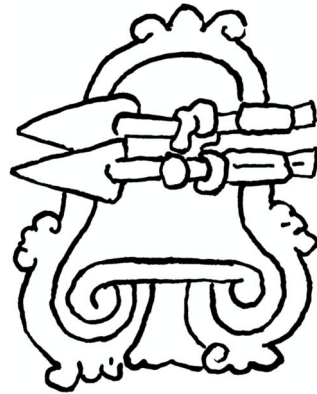


Fig.18 The glyph of Miltepec on the Lienzo of Ihuitlán.

had never had the modern benefit of seeing the terrain from an airplane.

Tempted to expatiate further by Dave's obvious interest, I told him the sparsely-populated end of the lienzo told the end of the story. And I showed him how the places with arrows stuck in them represented Lord 3 Rain's conquests.

"Can you find the places he conquered on the map?" he challenged.

Proudly, I asked him to look at one of the places on the lienzo that I knew well (Fig. 17), and directed him to one of its liveliest drawings. When he discerned the crane on the rock, I pointed to Aztatla at the upper left corner of the map, telling him the correlation I had made earlier. Aztatla means "Place of the Crane." Seeking to answer this question, too, brought new information. Aztatla seems to be one of the towns Lord 3 Rain bypassed, but the fact that its position on the lienzo corresponded roughly to its place on the map suggested that not just the lower half of the lienzo, but the upper part as well was cartographical.

With pleasure, I pointed to the glyph of a place that Lord 3 Rain seems to have passed through peaceably. To the right and north of Aztatla is the glyph (Fig. 18) that, because it represented

Miltepec ("Place of the Arrows"), led Castellanos to believe it revealed one of the three neighboring towns the lienzo came from. Because Miltepec was not on the valley map, its representation on the lienzo showed that Miltepec was outside the Valley of Coixtlahuaca. So we learned two further facts: the lienzo was a map of more than the valley, and Lord 3 Rain, pressing north, made conquests well beyond the confines of the Mixteca Alta.

Since Miltepec is also on the Lienzo of Ihuitlán, and the people of the town said that the Tlacotepec shown on the lienzo was a place in the state of Puebla, I realized that the Lienzo of Ihuitlán also mapped an area larger than the Valley of Coixtlahuaca, a fact underlined by Caso's identification (1961: 244) of the Ihuitlán lienzo's "Teyovaca" as Tehuacán, also in Puebla. So the domains of a number of the valley's overlords must have once extended well beyond the northern hills that now confine their descendants.

As so many pieces fell into place, the varied orientations of Tlapiltepec's lienzo became more logical. Where I once thought they had been determined only by the artist's need to fit the many-stranded history of Tlapiltepec and its neighbors into the disproportionately long, rather awkward

space at his disposal, I now realized that he had been commissioned to create a document that was also a map. I recognized that the cartographic nature of his task had determined the orientations even more than the exigencies of crowding in all his personages and genealogies. I saw that not only did he have to accommodate many historical facts, but that he had to place them near the geographically fixed towns to which they related. The conception of a sheet meant to be read by walking around it was a masterly idea—a solution to many problems.

### Coda: The Two Migrations from Chicomoztoc

The subject matter of Mexican pictorial documents depends on whom the documents were created for. This is especially true for historical ones. As a consequence, some stories are told fairly fully on occasion and sketchily on others, according to the original purpose of the commission. This is illustrated in the stories of the two migrations. They are related with only a few high points on the Lienzo of Tlapiltepec. Because Caso (1954: 18–20) knew how the stories were told in other documents, he was able to understand the significance of the two lines in Figure 19 that start up from Chicomoztoc in the lower left corner and enclose two place glyphs and two couples to form a goblet-shaped outline.

The line on the right runs from one of the upper caves in the glyph of Chicomoztoc (the glyph that caused Spinden to believe the lienzo came from Chicomoztoc) to a man and woman easy to remember, for each has the same name—12 Flint. (The lens-shaped objects crossed with diagonal lines are flint knives.) The two figures are the chief couple of one of the migrations, and two generations of *his* forebears are seen before them: Lord 7 Jaguar and Lady 8 Jaguar, probably his parents, and Lord 7 Reed and Lady 4 Motion, probably his grandparents. The place this lineage bypassed in coming from Chicomoztoc seems to

be a place of two bodies of water, perhaps converging rivers. Caso (1961: 255) identifies them as the Río de los Quetzales, because of the six projecting quetzal tail-feathers, and the Río del Collar de Jade, because of the open necklace that stretches from shore to shore.

The reason Caso brought this lineage into his commentary on the Gómez de Orozco fragment (1954) can be seen in Figure 20,<sup>16</sup> a photograph of the reverse of the fragment. Here are the intervening couples of this migration. In this instance Lord 7 Reed is not represented on a *petate* facing Lady 4 Motion but as stepping in the nude from a body of water to meet his bride seated on the opposite bank. Because the man of the next couple is Lord 7 Jaguar, Caso reasoned he was the same 7 Jaguar seen in Tlapiltepec's lienzo, even though in the fragment his wife is Lady 1 Jaguar instead of Lady 8 Jaguar. The presence of these two couples in both documents in the same sequence, fortified by the fact that Lord 7 Jaguar's body of water could have been the confluence of the two rivers (note the two feathers behind him and the object below resembling a bathmat, but more likely a large jade) allowed Caso to tell readers the rest of the story missing from the fragment: that Lord 7 Reed and Lord 7 Jaguar were migrants from Chicomoztoc en route to the place ruled by the two 12 Flints.

The finale of the other migration has already been presented in Figure 10, which shows two men making fire on the hill of the interlaced serpents. The Selden Roll was the document Caso had to help him fill out this story. One thing the Roll proved was that the men making the fire were part of the story started by the line making the left profile of the goblet, even though that line in the Lienzo of Tlapiltepec does not run up as high as the fire-making scene. The fire scene, as it is depicted in the Selden Roll, is shown in

<sup>16</sup>I have Welte to thank for photographing details of the Codex Gómez de Orozco and the Selden Roll.



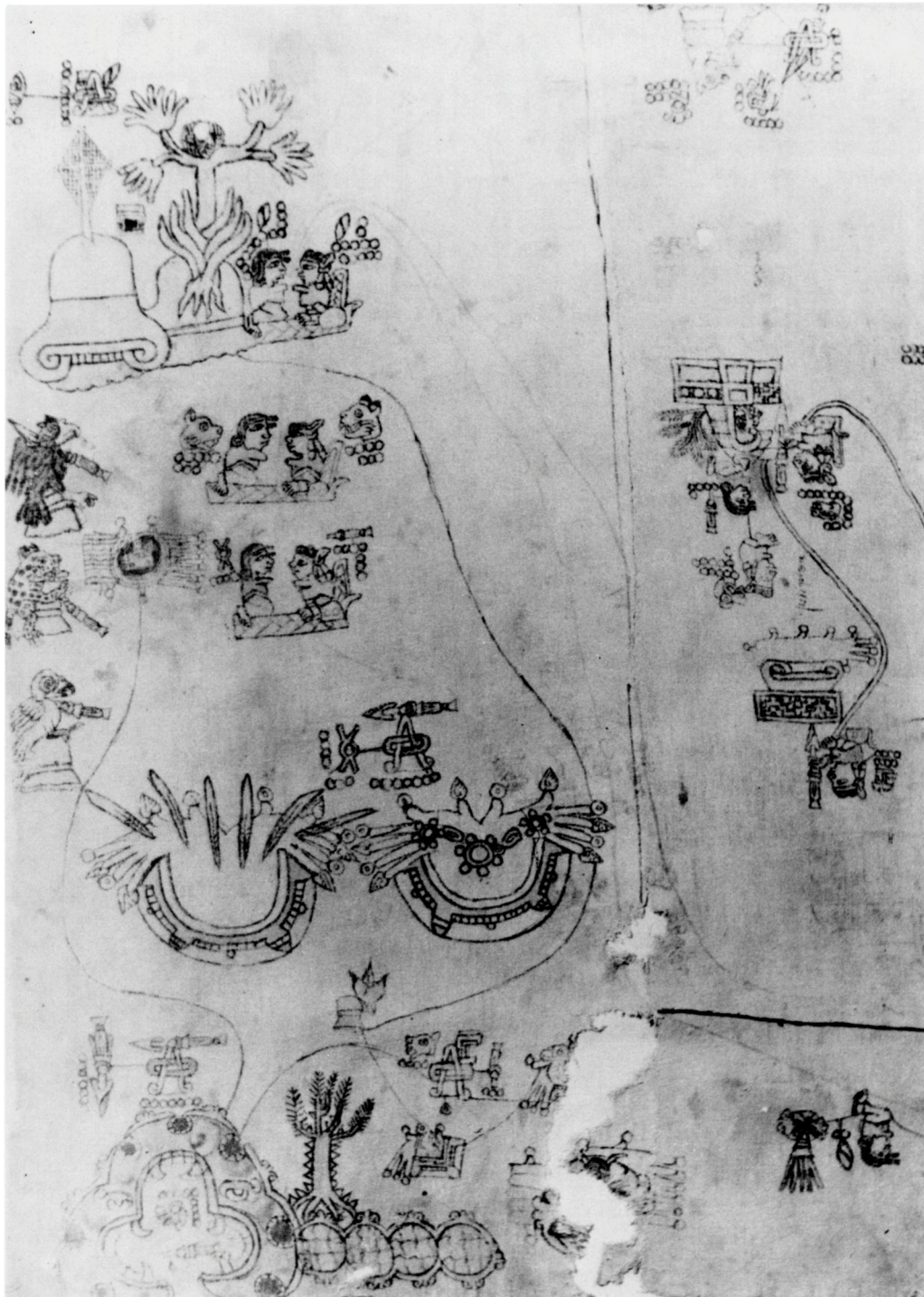


Fig.19 The corner of the Lienzo of Tlapiltepec with the gobletlike lines. Photograph courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.



Fig.20 Lord 7 Reed emerging from the river in Fragmento Gómez de Orozco. Photograph by Cecil R. Welte.



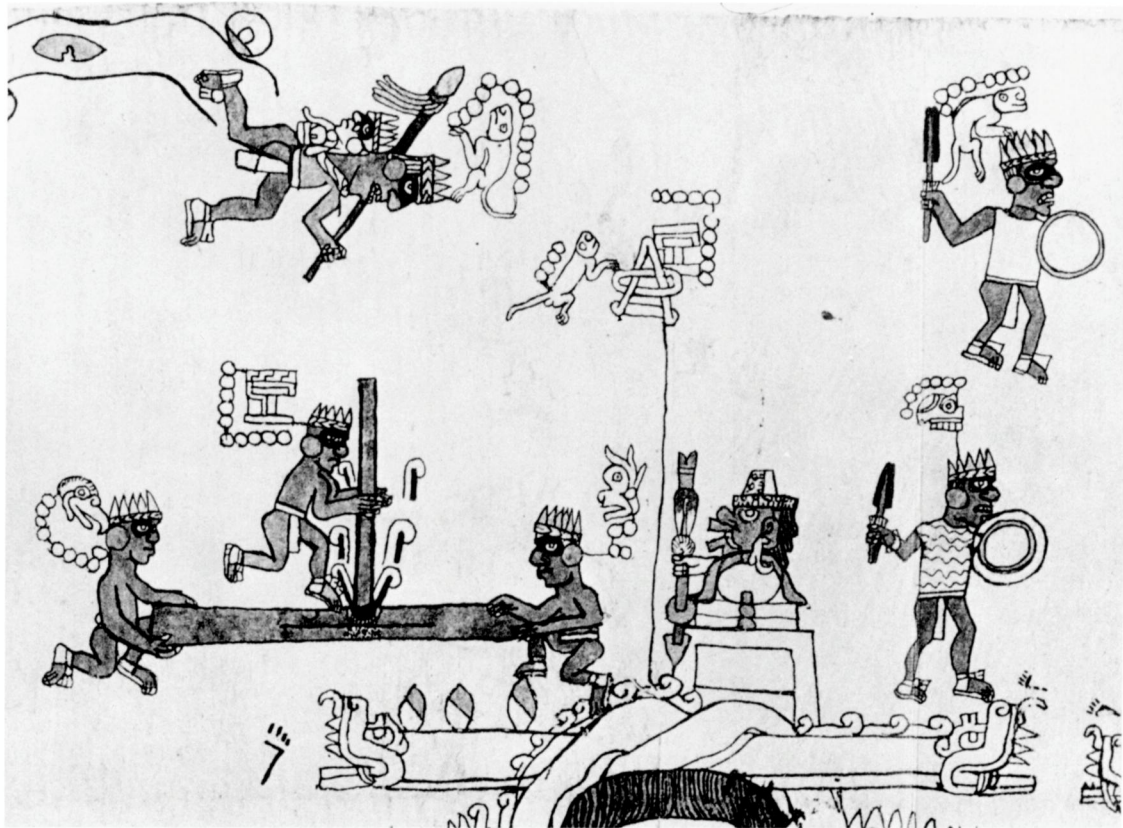


Fig.21 The Fire Scene on the Selden Roll. Photograph by Cecil R. Welte.

Figure 21. If it is argued that there are three fire-makers in the Roll, while a fourth companion with a saw-toothed crown above them descends from a river of stars, Caso had the reply to this. The two men not in the Tlapiltepec version in person—the steadiers of the fire log, 9 Vulture and 4 Monkey—are nevertheless there, represented by their names. And in both documents they have the same respective positions, to the left and right of the fire drilling.

Caso believed these four men were the ancestors who introduced the worship of Quetzalcoatl into the Valley of Coixtlahuaca. They may also have been priests of the type Mary Elizabeth Smith calls “deity impersonators”—that is, priests who assumed the names of the gods they served. They are the key to the connection between the un-

joined lower and upper sequences in the Lienzo of Tlapiltepec. Figure 22 from the Selden Roll shows them on one of the scenes of their journey, on a height that Burland (1955: 17) calls “Broken-Rock Plateau.” They wear the saw-tooth crowns (probably made of amate) that characterize them in several documents. Figure 23, also from the Selden Roll, shows three places the crowned men fought their way past en route to Broken-Rock Plateau, as well as a place without the conquest arrow. Turning back to Figure 19, which shows the sequence lower on Tlapiltepec, one sees the same four places, but oriented one above the other instead of horizontally as on the Roll. They are also in a different order. The places the foursome conquered, as shown by the transfixing arrows in both documents, were the Hills of the Eagle, the

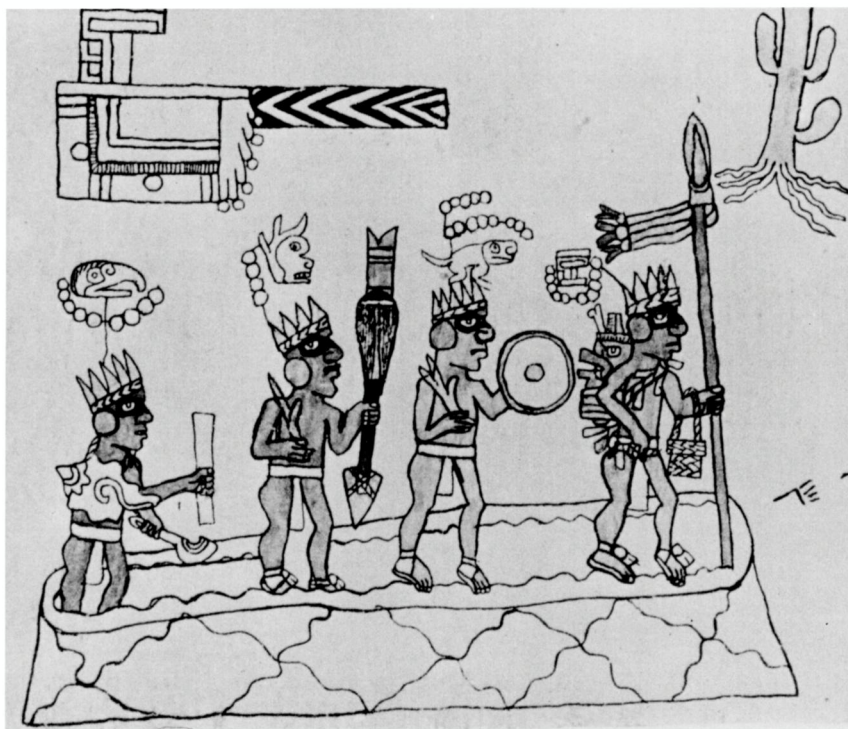


Fig.22 The men of the saw-toothed crowns on the Selden Roll. Photograph by Cecil R. Welte.

Jaguar and the Parrot. The way the fourth place is represented provides another happy instance of one document throwing light on the other. In the Roll, where the place is represented in most detail, it is shown as a river inhabited by a naked woman, whose name is Lady 6 Deer. In the lienzo, the river is graphic enough, but as an example of a pictorial short cut, the woman and her name are indicated only by the head of a deer.

What Caso did, therefore, was to fill out the left migration on the lienzo by appealing to the much more complete Selden Roll; whereas he used the right migration on the lienzo as a means of filling out the one sequence from it on the Gómez de Orozco fragment. The reader, following him closely, in addition to learning the two migration stories, incidentally found out a number of salient points about Mexican pictorial documents. For one, he learned about emphasis. Whoever commissioned the Selden Roll clearly had a greater

interest in the migration of the lords of the saw-toothed crowns than did the commissioner of the lienzo of Tlapiltepec, even though the lienzo's commissioner obviously wanted them included. The reader was shown, too, how the documents were used as devices to aid memory. People like those of Tlapiltepec, who were familiar with the legend of the four fire-making lords at the hill of the interlaced serpents, did not need the whole story to have the lords and their journey recalled. Four important places the lords passed, a picture of two of them making fire, and the names of the other two were enough for full clarity. Caso also gave telling instances of pictorial short cuts—names of people in lieu of pictures of them, omission of incidents, and fragmentary representations instead of detailed ones. Because we know what Caso did not (the town the lienzo came from) we can interpret certain puzzling elements on related documents. Figure 24, for instance, drawn from

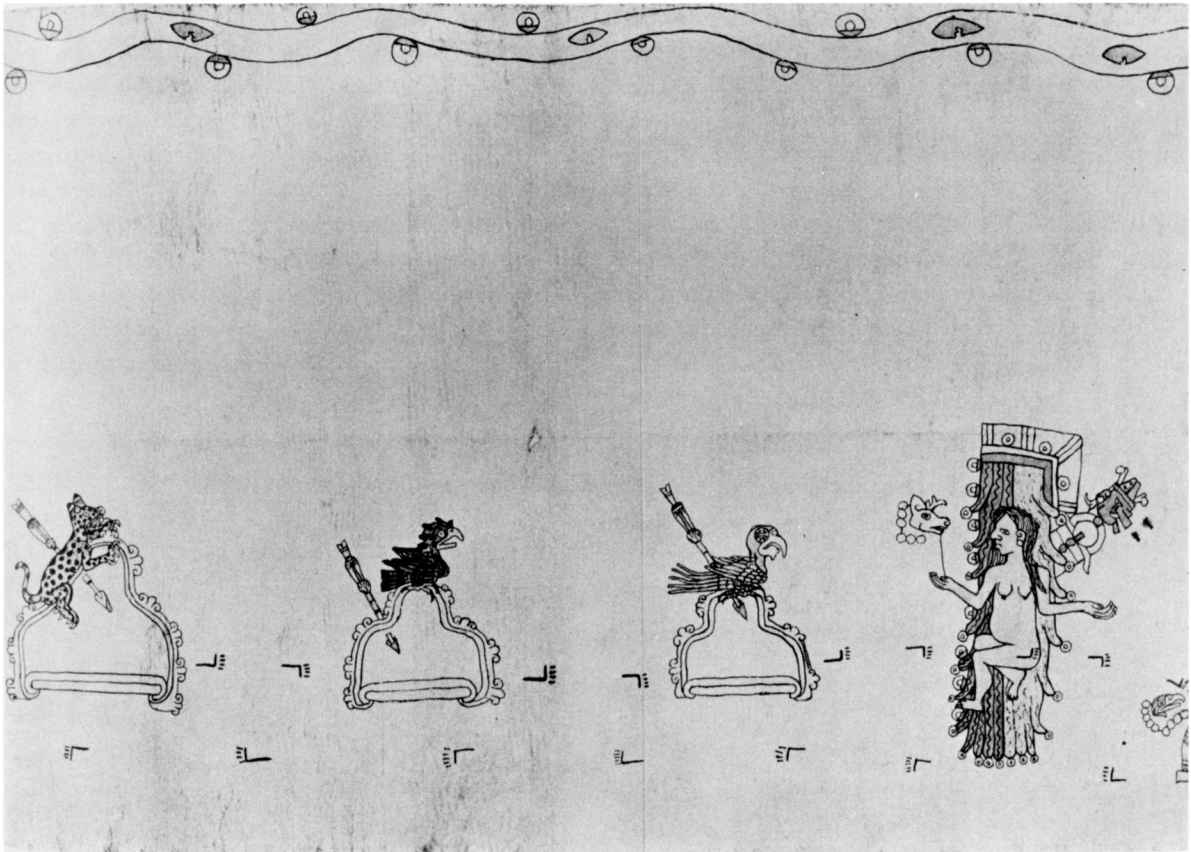


Fig.23 The places conquered by the men of the saw-toothed crowns on the Selden Roll. Photograph by Cecil R. Welte

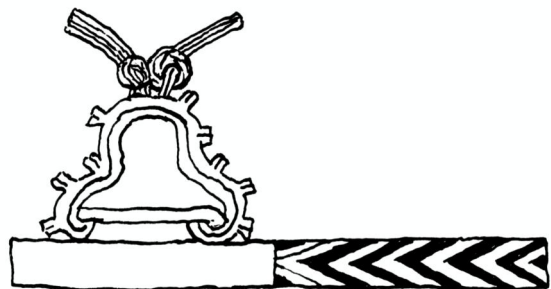


Fig.24 Tlapiltepec's glyph on the Selden Roll.

the Selden Roll, is the glyph of another place that the crowned lords passed before reaching Broken-Rock Plateau. Clearly it is a Hill of the Knot, and the strip of black and white chevrons indicates a warpath. There can be little doubt that this represents Tlapiltepec, which, because it is not trans-fixed with an arrow, may have surrendered without resistance. Now look again at Figure 8 and Tlapiltepec's glyph on the Lienzo of Ihuitlán; Caso interpreted the two figures below Lord 3 Rain as ancestral figures. Note that they have saw-toothed crowns. Only two are shown, and because they

are not named, we can not be positive that they are half of the foursome that made the momentous journey.<sup>17</sup> But the fact, that the four assumed control of Tlapiltepec, and that the artist of the Lienzo of Tlapiltepec worked their migration into his history make it extremely likely that they are. The artist of Ihuitlán, because he was working for Ihuitlán and not Tlapiltepec, did not want to include much about the other town, but he probably felt he had to include the crowned migrants because he, too, knew how large they loomed in a neighbor's past.

<sup>17</sup>Need for caution here is supported by the two men with similar saw-tooth crowns on the upper left corner of page 62 of the Codex Nuttall (Nuttall 102). One is Lord 8 Lizard "Bleeding bone," the other is Lord 8 Flint, wearing the mask of a baby jaguar. Both are members of the congress of leaders called by 8 Deer "Jaguar claw." Their names show they are not members of the Coixtlahuaca migrating foursome. But one of them, 8 Lizard "Bleeding bone," might be the same man as the 8 Lizard (without a nickname) on the Selden Roll, who is a conqueror with 7 Death (both with saw-tooth crowns) of the place where our foursome kindled their important fire. Thus between Nuttall and the Coixtlahuaca documents we have the names of seven men with saw-toothed crowns. Apparently, a number of lords were entitled to wear such crowns, probably as a sign of rank in a tribal affiliation. The two unnamed ones associated with Tlapiltepec on the Ihuitlán lienzo, therefore, might be either two more members of this privileged class or else familiar personages whose names the Ihuitlán artist did not record. With so few links between the Tilantongo and Coixtlahuaca documents, these two men with the saw-tooth crowns on Nuttall might prove to be linch pins.



## The Two Lienzos of San Miguel Tequixtepec<sup>18</sup>

### Rebuff on the First Try

When the schoolteacher Apolinar Santamaría told me in Ihuatlán in 1960 that San Miguel Tequixtepec had a lienzo, a happy possibility leaped to my mind. Perhaps it was an original of one of the valley's lost lienzos, the one then known only from a photocopy of a redrawing that William Gates published in 1931 as the "Codex Meixueiro." So taking a copy of Gates's "Meixueiro" to the Coixtlahuaca Valley in 1961 seemed obviously a sensible thing to do. By showing it to Tequixtepec authorities with the question "Is this a copy of your lienzo?" I figured I might prompt them to admit it. If Tequixtepec did not have the original, showing the copy in different villages in the region might lead to the discovery of where it was. This time I did not get the "Meixueiro" framed. Carrying it rolled up in a cardboard tube was easier.<sup>19</sup> It might be added that this document, whose full dimensions were still not known (Parmenter 1970: 105), indicated a square lienzo, with place glyphs and battle scenes around its borders, roads leading toward its center, and a big glyph of the serpent of Coixtlahuaca in the middle. The serpent, resembling a Viking ship, seemed to carry on its back two rulers seated facing each other in front of their temples (Fig. 25).

After giving Apolinar the framed photograph he had helped us take to Tlapiltepec, Gabriel and I, now armed only with our tube, set out for Tequixtepec the morning of September 28, 1961. Somewhat unfortunately for us, this turned out to be the day prior to St. Michael's day. St.

Michael is Tequixtepec's patron saint, and the town's annual *fiesta titular* was already in full swing when we arrived. The town was crowded with visitors, and the municipal authorities were too busy in their roles as hosts to see us until nightfall. When we were finally admitted to the long narrow Ayuntamiento, Gabriel showed the Municipal President his badge as an employee of the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, and explained that I was an expert on Mixtec codices. Thereupon I pulled the "Meixueiro" out of its tube, said it was an example of the sort of thing I was interested in, and made my big request. I had heard that their town had a lienzo of its own, I began. Would it be possible, and I asked as politely as I could, to see it? We were told we would have to wait until tomorrow for a verdict.

Late the next evening, Blanco and I were summoned to see the Presidente who very courteously informed us that he would gladly show us the lienzo—if one existed. But, unfortunately, I had

<sup>18</sup>This chapter is an amplified version of a paper prepared for the Forty-first International Congress of Americanists at Mexico City, September 2 and 7, 1974. It was delivered on September 5 to the special session, "Mixtec Codices: Problems and Progress," coordinated by the indefatigable Nancy Troike. But it did not appear in the Proceedings because publication money ran out at the end of Volume 3, which meant that none of the papers of the final sessions were published by the Congress. However, I had gotten news of the lienzos earlier to Mary Elizabeth Smith and John B. Glass, who inserted them into works in progress (Smith 1973: 182, 184; Glass 1975: 246–247). In the last two places of his Census, Glass gave the lienzos numbers 433 and 434.

<sup>19</sup>Gates issued "Meixueiro" in a tiny edition of only sixty copies, so I am indebted to Margaret Currier, then librarian of the Peabody Museum at Harvard University, for providing me with a photostat of her library's copy.

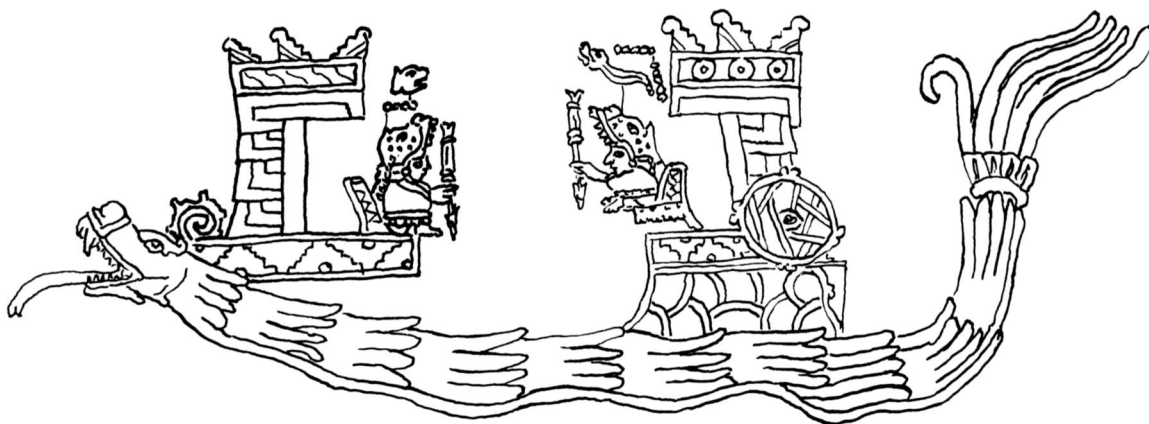


Fig. 25 The central personages of Coixtlahuaca as shown on "Meixueiro" (or "Lienzo A").

been misinformed. The town did not have a lienzo and so he could not comply with my request.

But being present during the Feast of St. Michael had advantages. The fiesta drew villagers from the whole region. Two or three of them confirmed Apolinar's original statement that Tequixtepec did have a lienzo. They had not seen it, however, because it was a closely guarded secret, but luck presented one man who had. "Was it the original of this?" I asked, unrolling my copy of the tracing published by Gates. His decisive answer both dashed and elated me. It wasn't. So I had failed to solve a mystery, which meant a disappointed hope. On the other hand, I had established that Tequixtepec's lienzo was a totally different document, not even known through a tracing.

"What was the lienzo like?" I asked. Alas, his memory was vague. He had the impression that it showed some Indians building a church, which put me in mind of one of the Techialoyan documents. Its dimensions, he said, were about 1.5 meters high by a meter wide.

### The Unexpected Invitation

Fate drew me back to Tequixtepec the next year, and again in 1963, 1964, 1966, and 1967, always for the feast of the blessed Michael. The town, which had been suspicious and unfriendly

on my first visit with Gabriel Blanco, became increasingly warm in its hospitality every time I went back by myself. I never asked to see the lienzo again. Perhaps because I did not push the matter, I was always welcomed. Apparently, too, I won the confidence of one segment of the town, for, in the spring of 1970, after I had moved to Oaxaca to live, some villagers came to me with an astonishing request. Their old dispute over boundaries with Santa María Ixcatlán had again grown rancorous.<sup>20</sup> A Mexico City lawyer had told them that he could settle the dispute once and for all if they would let him take their lienzo to the law courts of the capital. Knowing that other villages had lost their lienzos by acceding to such requests, they did not want to be victimized in the same way. Would I come to Tequixtepec, look at the lienzo, and give them advice?

Would I? I was ready to start on foot the next day. By now, however, roads into the Coixtlahuaca Valley had been improved. I did not have to walk, and on April 28 I was driven to Tequixtepec by Raul Guzman, a young emigré from the village who had proved to be my best friend

<sup>20</sup>In this case, Tequixtepec's ranchería, Palo Solo (Fig. 3), wanted to become part of Santa María Ixcatlán, and Ixcatlán was eager to annex it.



there on previous visits, and who, since moving to Oaxaca, had acquired a Volkswagen. Though I had no confidence that I would be allowed to photograph the long-guarded lienzo, I slipped my small camera into my overnight bag with two cartridges of film.

At Tequixtepec the showing was arranged for the following evening, when most of the principal men of the village could be present. It would take place in the long sala of the Municipal Palace, where I had been told nine years before that there was no lienzo. This time there was a different Presidente Municipal. Instead of the grim-visaged older man who had denied any lienzo, the new mayor, Feliciano Gómez, was a chubby, rather baby-faced man in his thirties who had spent six or seven years in the United States as a field worker. Despite his youthfulness, he was known respectfully as Don Chano. After I assured him that I would indeed like to see the lienzo, he said something about *la chiquita* and gave a signal to two aides to fetch it from the glass case holding the flag of Mexico, at the end of the room. They then stretched the lienzo out on the tiled floor.

It was not at all like what I expected. It bore no scene of a church being built and it was not a meter wide. It was more like a great bandage of brownish linen, hardly more than two feet wide yet more than nine feet in length. It reminded me of the Codex Tulane (Gropp 1933), though its drawing was much cruder in style. Obviously it was a document from the tag end of the sixteenth century when the native style was in its last degenerate stage. There was hardly any color: just black, slate gray, a little pink, straw yellow, and, in one surprising spot, a dark blood red. Still, it bore a genealogy of more than fifteen generations, and the couples shown, stacked one on top of the other, had their calendric names. I was disappointed artistically, but there was much to study. After noting that it consisted of vertical strips sewn together, two above the mid-seam and two below, I began committing to memory

as many of its images as possible. At the bottom I spotted, not surprisingly, the interlaced serpents of Coixtlahuaca, and there were two or three nude figures with odd headgear that looked familiar. But when one is excited, memories are often not easily on tap.

Perhaps I had been poring over the lienzo for ten minutes when I heard the Presidente ask, "And now would you like to see the big one?" I could hardly believe my ears. Tequixtepec, it seemed, did not have just one lienzo. It had two. Now I understood what was meant by *la chiquita*. When I said yes to *el grande*, the same two aides went to the glass case, took out a sheet with the colors folded inside, and spread it out on top of the first. It was taller than the long one, and almost four times as wide—the size of a great carpet. The villagers had to crowd back close to the walls to allow sufficient floor space for its full unfolding. Even in the dim light of the sala I was dazzled. It was the most wonderful lienzo I had ever seen. Perhaps the drawing of the lienzo of Zacatepec (Peñafiel 1900) is a little sharper and more vigorous; but this one has a lower section that, in its compactness, order, and arrangement of elements, is closer to a Pre-Conquest codex on deer hide than any other known lienzo. Its colors certainly out-class all others. The colors of most of the Mixtec lienzos that have survived are now so faded that the documents at first give the impression of being executed in black and white. But this lienzo's colors are still fresh and vivid: emerald green, sky blue, yellow, brick red, rose, an imperial purple, and brown and black.

"How much is it worth?" I heard the Presidente ask.

Without hesitation, I replied "\$10,000."

"In American money?" Don Chano asked incredulously. His experience north of the border enabled him to appreciate just how much money this represented.

When I assured him I meant U.S. currency, he and his aides went into a huddle, which gave me a chance to return and gloat over the lienzo. It

was made of four horizontal bands of cotton, sewn together with horizontal seams. The bottom section, which resembled several pages of a screenfold codex stretched out flat, interested me most. But the big central glyph with its two lords seated on jaguar thrones, and the surrounding place glyphs, all named with glosses in Spanish, were something to wonder at and study, too. I did not care how long the conference took.

When it came to an end, the Presidente said, "We have come to a decision. Because the lienzo is so valuable, we will not entrust it to the lawyer who wants to take it to Mexico City." I breathed a sigh of relief. Of their own accord, they had come to the advice I intended to give. Then came the unexpected postlude: "All we will do is entrust photographs to the lawyer. But we do not have a camera." A pause. "Will you photograph the lienzo for us?"

So, spontaneously, I had been offered the permission I had not yet dared to request.

I tossed in bed most of the night, wondering how I could photograph so big a document with a modest Instamatic camera. Details could be managed by folding the sheet back on itself, taking only one section at a time. But how on earth could I get a picture of the whole thing? If it were laid out in the sunlight, as it had been laid out on the floor of the city hall, I could not get a central perch high enough to take it all in.

I need not have worried. The villagers themselves knew how to solve the problem. The next morning they gathered the sheet in their arms and took it to the bandstand in the town plaza. Two men scrambled up to the musicians' area and were handed the upper corners of the lienzo. When they held them just above their shoulders, with Tequixtepec I (as we came to call the large lienzo) clear of the railing, there was drop enough for the ten-foot sheet to hang free, not quite touching the ground (Plate I). Patiently they held the lienzo taut as I photographed it twelve times in black and white and another twelve times in color. At one point, a small boy in blue was dele-

gated to hold the lower right corner when it began to flap in the wind.

In full sunlight the colors were even lovelier than they had seemed in the dark building. I was particularly struck by the clarity of two colors that in other lienzos tend to become indistinguishable with time: the green used for the hills and the blue used for the sky as well as for the river running down the main part of the sheet on the left side.

I failed to photograph all the place glyphs framing the upper part of the sheet; nonetheless, excited as I was, I had the presence of mind to aim the camera methodically from left to right in bands across the lienzo so that the principal details were all scanned. There was to be no opportunity for further study. The men holding the sheet were tiring, and Raul's father, Juan Guzman, who was going to save me a day's walk by taking me back to the highway in his truck, was honking. There was no time to lose; and truth to tell, I was so eager to make off with the treasure on my films that I wanted to get away lest the villagers change their minds about photographs after all. They had guarded the secret of the existence of the lienzo for a long time. In the bright light of day, they could easily think better of their decision of the night before.

Only after I was already in a bus headed for Oaxaca did I realize that I had never thought to ask to photograph the other lienzo, the one like a great bandage!

## Intervening Events

My deficiency as an investigator was brought home even more sharply when the cartridge of black-and-white film was developed. The details of the painting were so faint they could hardly be seen. If only the opportunity had not blown up so suddenly I might have bought or borrowed a better camera! Or even taken a more expert photographer along. But I was greatly relieved when the colored photos were printed. They captured

the colors faithfully, and the segregating effects of the colors made the details stand out clearly. This was important because I needed the names of the men and women on the lienzo to see how many of them were new personages and how many appeared on other valley lienzos. Comparing the cast of characters between various lienzos would, I knew, reveal relationships between the documents. My count showed thirty-one men and thirty-three women on the lienzo, and my color photographs were good enough so that all but four of their names could be ascertained beyond possible doubt.

Two weeks later, however, it did not seem to matter whether I had decent pictures or not. Presidente Gómez and his *sindico*, Juan Soriano C., a man with iron gray hair who had not been present at the photographing, visited me in Oaxaca. A faction in the village, they said, was furious at them for letting me see the lienzos. Would I give them a pledge of silence about what I had seen? No one else must know about the lienzos. Realizing how vital the matter was to them, and to the rest of Tequixtepec, I felt obliged to give my word not to betray their secret. And so they might have something to take back to their constituents, I volunteered to put my pledge in the form of a letter that they could use to reassure the dissidents. But they asked for something more. I had given them a set of prints—now they asked for my negatives so that no further prints could be made. I saw the logic of this request and surrendered the negatives, blessing my stars that at least the four best were saved by being at the developers. And I continued to search my original photos for the information they had captured in the hope that at some future time the ban would be lifted.

Meanwhile, two events occurred that I did not learn about until later. On July 2, two months after they had shown the lienzos to me, the Presidente and other authorities of Tequixtepec, brought the lienzos to Oaxaca. According to the account I received, they hoped to use

them to gain some advantage for their village from the governor of the state, Victor Bravo Ahuja. The governor, or someone close to him, immediately recognized the value of the documents and the danger that they might be lost or stolen. As a precaution, he thereupon ordered that they be photographed by a professional photographer. The men of the village, I was told, wanted the negatives of these prints too, but were refused them on the ground that they were government property. Apparently the men did not get what they wanted from the governor either.

Ten days later, on July 12, the village's long-kept secret was spread over the front page of the Sunday cultural supplement of *Novedades*, one of Mexico City's largest newspapers. "Delivery of an Old Mixtec Codex" (*Entrega de un viejo código Mixteca*) was the title of the article, though it was actually about both of Tequixtepec's lienzos (Cruz 1970). The start and the "jump" on page eight were illustrated with photographs. One gave a panoramic view of Tequixtepec with the village located by a little map. Four details of the larger lienzo were shown, two in photographs, two in drawings. The text named the Tequixtepec lawyer (Eleazar Santiago Córdova) who furnished the information for the story. The village, said the reporter, was going to give the lienzos to the President of Mexico.

Not being in Mexico City, it was more than a month before I saw the *Novedades* story, which was thoughtfully hunted down for me by Doris Heyden, then at the National Museum. Needless to say, I breathed a sigh of relief. Since Tequixtepec's lienzos had been publicized to such a wide audience, I no longer felt honor-bound to keep silent about them. Meanwhile, thanks to Domingo Aguilar, an employee of Oaxaca's regional museum, I had learned that the professional photographer hired by the governor's office was Adolfo Zarate Méndez. When it turned out that Zarate knew me (he had once been commissioned by a mutual friend to do photographic work for

me), he was willing to sell me copies of the photographs he had made for the governor. Zarate's studio, as he explained to me, had not been large enough to photograph either lienzo in full, and his fifteen sectional pictures were in black and white. But his details—at any rate, those of the large lienzo—were so sharp and clear that I was able to read them easily. This meant that by the time I felt free to publish anything on the lienzos, I was fairly well informed as to the contents of the small lienzo, as well as more certain about details of the large one. I had also received valuable assistance from John Paddock's Instituto de Estudios Oaxaqueños, installed in the inn of the old hacienda building in Mitla, which also sheltered the Frissell Museum of Zapotec Art. As part of the equipment of the Institute, Paddock had assembled a large file of photographs of Mexican pictorial manuscripts, which, as might be expected, was especially rich in photographs and reproductions of documents originating in Oaxaca. Because Paddock had given me free access to this file, and because Emily Rabin had been on hand with her "knitting needles" to spend three days helping me search that file, I had also been able to make a systematic comparison of Tequixtepec I with most of the lienzos and other pictorial documents believed to be associated with the Coixtlahuaca Valley.

### The Inn at Mitla

Emily's needles need a little explaining. Paddock, with Emily collaborating, had resorted to a punch-card system aimed at making pictorial documents yield their secrets somewhat more readily than they would by the fallible scanning of subjective individuals. Each five-by-eight inch card was equipped with many categories (set in rectangles with holes above them that could be punched out) to provide an associative description of a given person, date, place glyph, scene, or costume detail, to name some of the classes of information that the system was established to

select. The patient and meticulous Emily had been punching data on her cards since 1965, and by this time she had completed the cards of the personages on most of the major Mixtec pictorials. So if a researcher wanted to know, for example, on how many documents Lord 3 Rain appeared, he would first go to Emily's tray of "Male-figure Cards." Picking up a manageable clump of cards in the left hand, the searcher would then use the right hand to pass a needle through the gap where holes relating to 3 Rain had been punched out; in this way the cards devoted to that lord would be released to drop from the clump. Then, with the information where all the 3 Rains were to be found, the searcher would be able to compare the various representations of his lordship.

To prepare for our joint searching, I gave Emily my list of the sixty-four personages on Tequixtepec I. She punched thirty-one additional cards for the male figures and thirty-three more for the females. We then set the new cards in her trays, and were ready to see where else our heroes and heroines were located.

I have chosen 3 Rain, last conquering lord of the Lienzo of Tlapiltepec, as an illustration because, in addition to all I wanted to know about the personages of Tequixtepec I, I wanted to know if 3 Rain could be found on any of the early historical deer hide codices such as Nuttall, Vindobonensis, and Colombino-Becker. Alas for the hoped-for correlation! Clump after clump of male-figure cards were transfixed in vain, and when the last had failed to release a 3 Rain card, we knew this particular lord was not to be found in any of the other pictorials.

This is not the place to give a Caso-type, square-inch by square-inch description of the two lienzos of Tequixtepec, so I hope I will be forgiven if I concentrate on only some of the more important aspects. What should be said about the upper part of the large lienzo is that in basic form it resembles both the Lienzo of Coixtlahuaca in Mexico City's National Museum, and the "Mei-

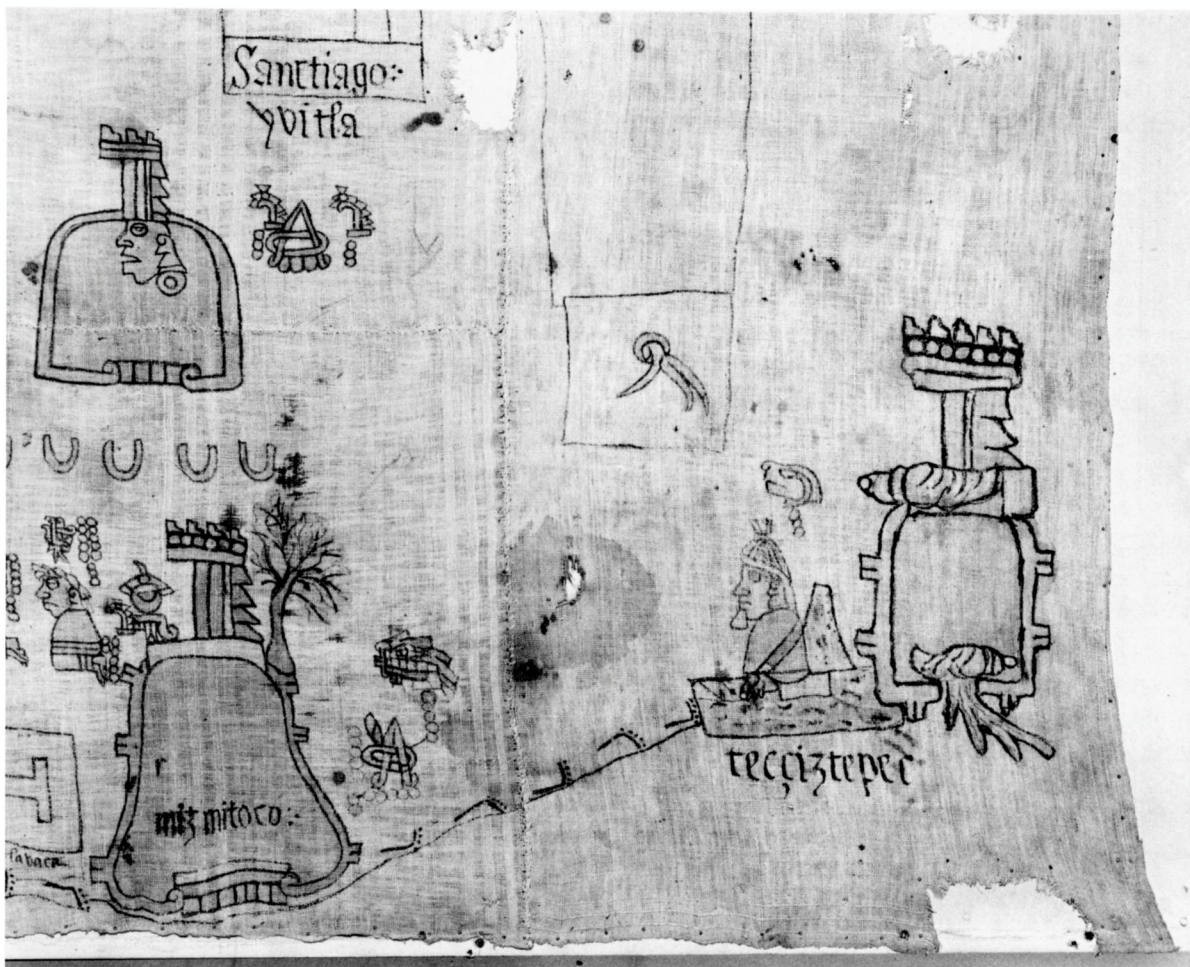


Fig. 26 Lord 3 Lizard on Ihuitlán's lienzo. Photograph courtesy of the Brooklyn Museum.

xueiro" (the document that I thought might be a tracing of Tequixtepec's original).<sup>21</sup> Namely, it is a near square, dominated by a major place glyph, with much smaller glyphs of either places or boundary markers, forming an outer frame. It, too, has large areas of unfilled space, and the lords of the central glyph are obviously ancestors of special significance.

The ancestors are shown in Plate II. Because their names are appended, the men can be identified as Lord 3 Lizard and Lord 11 Lizard. Both are also on the Lienzo of Ihuitlán, where they are shown to be brothers. In Ihuitlán, though, it is

suggested (Fig. 26) that the two brothers came to a parting of the ways. Not only are there footprints showing separation, but 3 Lizard, appar-

<sup>21</sup>Besides showing Gates's "Meixueiro" in Tequixtepec on the 1961 visit to the valley, I also showed it in Tlacotepec Plumas, Ihuitlán, Tepelmeme, Suchixtlahuaca, and Tlapiltepec; among those who saw it in these places were men who had lived in Tulancingo and Coixtlahuaca. No one recognized it as resembling any document he knew. My hope that the Gates photocopy would smoke out the whereabouts of the original was frustrated. However, in 1963 Martha and Donald Robertson brought this mystery one step nearer solution by finding that Tulane's mammoth Lienzo A was the tracing by Nicolás León that Gates worked from to achieve "Meixueiro" (Parmenter 1970).

ently the older brother, is shown alone here at Tequixtepec. Because Ihuitlán's lienzo gives none of 3 Lizard's descendants (whereas it shows generations of 11 Lizard's children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren, etc.), the lienzo also suggests that Tequixtepec ceased being as important to the people of Ihuitlán as the new place of 11 Lizard.

Comparison between the depiction of 3 Lizard on the two lienzos (Fig. 27) does much to highlight the stylistic merits of Tequixtepec I. Note, for instance, the contrast in the two jaguar thrones. In Tequixtepec I the throne is depicted as a live and vigorous animal one would not want to meet on a mountain path. In Ihuitlán it is a drab mat that, despite the markings, one would not recognize as a jaguar skin without further representational clues.

And see how differently the place glyph is represented. The Ihuitlán version has a Spanish gloss, which shows that the old spelling, "tec-ciztepec," was closer than the modern to *tecciztli*. Also note how unmistakably that species of splendid shell is represented on Tequixtepec's lienzo; one can see how it could have been used as a trumpet. On the Ihuitlán lienzo one sees, instead, two rather indeterminate shells lying on their sides. Though it lacks the crowning temple of the Ihuitlán, the high-pointed hill in the Tequixtepec is drawn with much greater authority. Lord 3 Lizard is shown with a top-knot of hair on both lienzos, but in the Ihuitlán he lacks the nose ornament, the gold necklace, and the pointing hand of the Tequixtepec portrait. In the Ihuitlán only the head of the lizard is shown; in the Tequixtepec one sees the lizard's whole body. In the Ihuitlán 3 Lizard is depicted alone. In the Tequixtepec he is shown with his wife, Lady 6 Jaguar, whose purple shoulder cape gives an example of one of the lienzo's richest colors.

The Tequixtepec depiction, then, can be seen to be very close to the style and surety of detail of the Pre-Conquest codices, whereas the Ihuitlán lienzo shows the native style in decay. Probably

at least a generation separates the two documents, and clearly the one from Tequixtepec is earlier. One detail on the Tequixtepec, however, dates it as Post-Conquest (Fig. 28)—the two goats being herded by the cheerful little dog. The Pre-Conquest people did not have goats—goats were a Spanish importation. The lienzo also depicts a vivacious cow—another Spanish import. The vivacity of the animal and bird drawings is one of the stylistic traits of the unknown artist.

From the start it was the codexlike lower part of the large Tequixtepec lienzo that fascinated me most. The left half—all my camera could encompass at close range—is seen in color in Plate III. The whole of it is seen in black and white in Figure 29, this was achieved by coordinating two of Zarate's photographs, which, happily, were at the same scale. The combined illustrations should give a good idea of what appealed to me so strongly, for the colors of the right half are as exquisite as those of the left, and the coordinated figure, though it lacks color, makes the storytelling clear.

One of the place glyphs is drawn so much larger than any of the others that the artist had to turn it on its side to get it all in. But if it is oriented upright, the rulers are easy to discern (Fig. 34). They are Flint Knife people, and when their dots are counted, it can be seen that each has the same name—12 Flint. So these are the people we have seen on the Lienzo of Tlapiltepec, the couple toward which the migration forming the right profile of the goblet was moving. If there is any question about their being the same man and wife, look to their forebears. They are the same couples as the intervening ones on the Lienzo of Tlapiltepec, Lord 7 Reed and Lady 4 Movement, as well as Lord 7 Jaguar married to a Jaguar Lady, who here is numbered 1 Jaguar. The river of the quetzal feathers is also indicated here. There can be no doubt about it: Tequixtepec I tells a Tlapiltepec migration story. The seven caves are missing, but Chicomoztoc is present notwithstanding. See how the open serpent mouth, with its



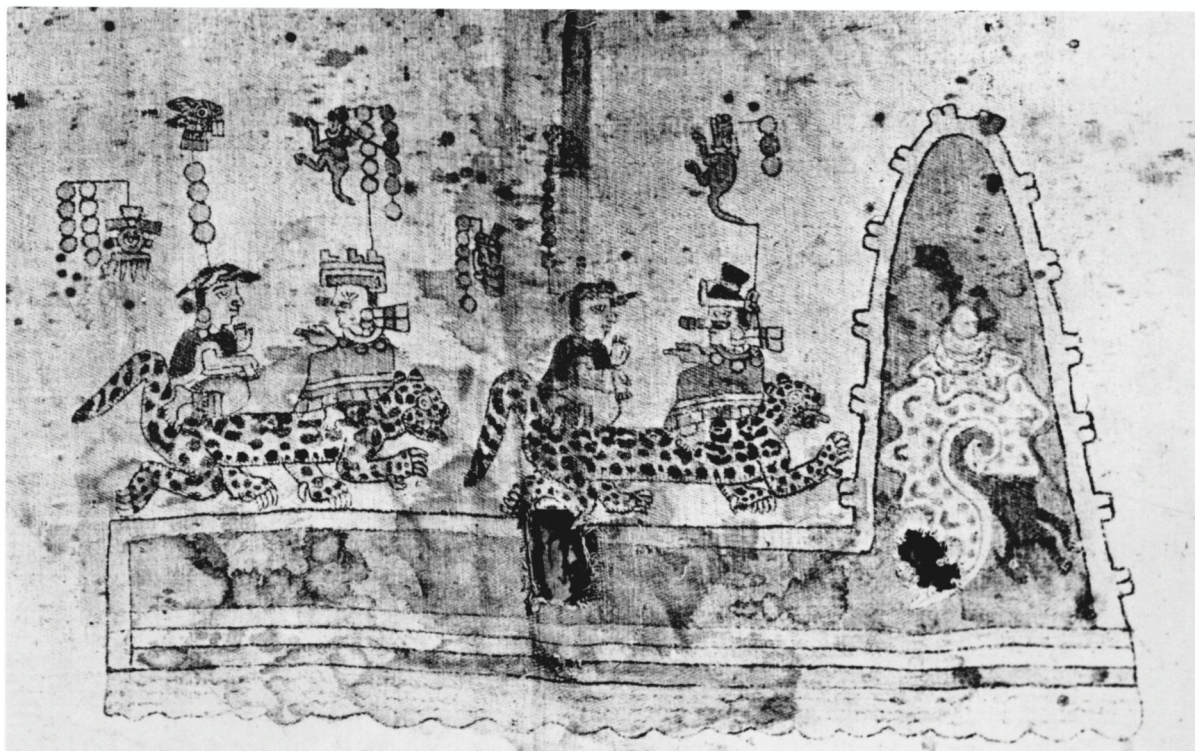


Fig.27 Two views of Lord 3 Lizard; Lienzo Tequixtepec I (*above*) and the Lienzo of Ihuitlán (*right*).



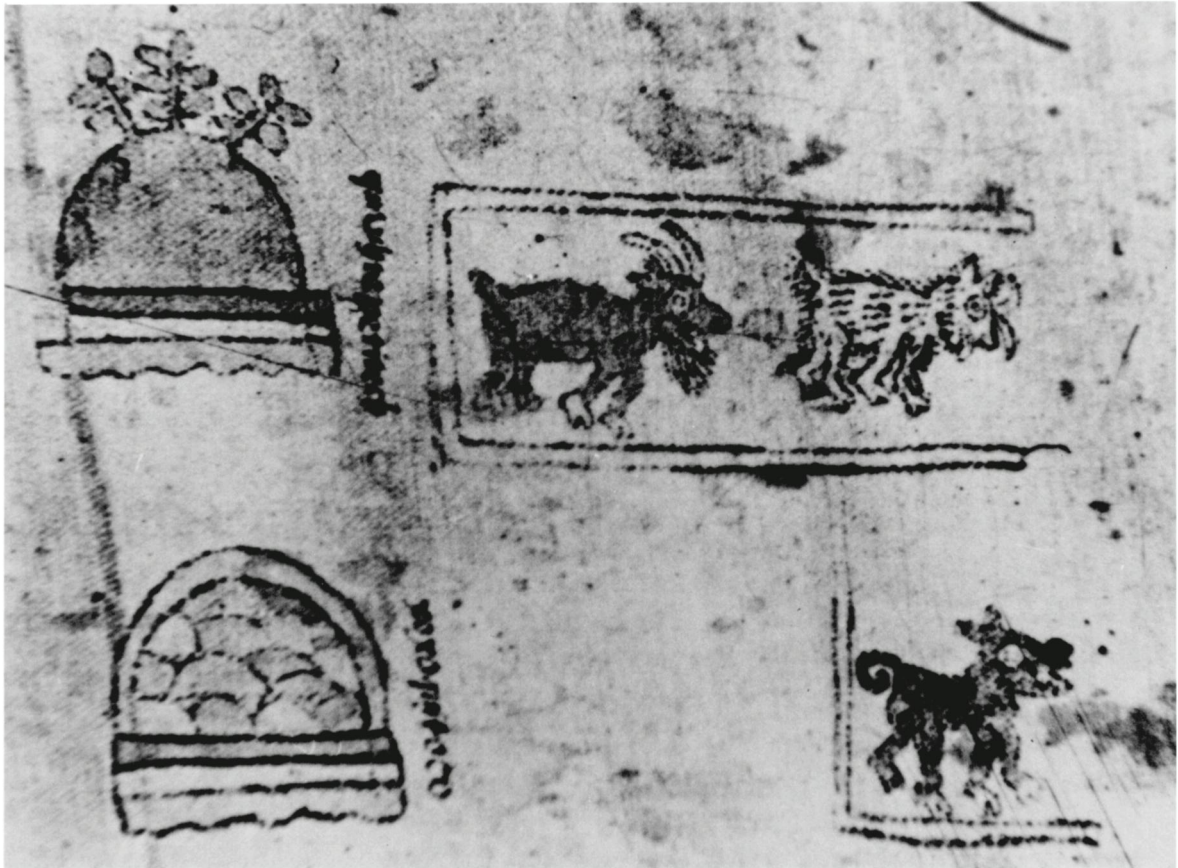


Fig.28 The goats on Lienzo Tequixtepec I. Photograph courtesy of Adolfo Zarate Mendez.

fangs and teeth, and the eyes above (Fig. 29, lower right corner), makes an unmistakable identification with the Chicomoztoc on Tlapiltepec (Fig. 7). And what happened after the 12 Flints settled down is told much more fully by Tequixtepec I. Four of their children are shown: a daughter and two sons in the rectangles below them, and straight ahead, the locally most important of their sons, a magnificent eagle knight named 7 Water, married to Lady 5 Vulture, whose lineage starts with the couple above and then makes a right angle turn to the left and continues through a series of boxed couples, the first ten of whom can easily be seen. A further ten couples above them run in the counter direction,

from left to right, and are also boxed by red outlines. So the lienzo depicts more than twenty-five generations. Allowing twenty years per generation, this represents five hundred years of continuous history. If the latest generation was in power when the Spaniards came, the lienzo's story would go back to about A.D. 1000, or roughly the time of the Norman Conquest of England. That the boxes separating the generations run horizontally is worth noting. It is another characteristic linking the document with Pre-Conquest methods of conveying information, for only later did native artists begin to depict lineages vertically. Note how the richness of detail and sureness of drawing of this migration



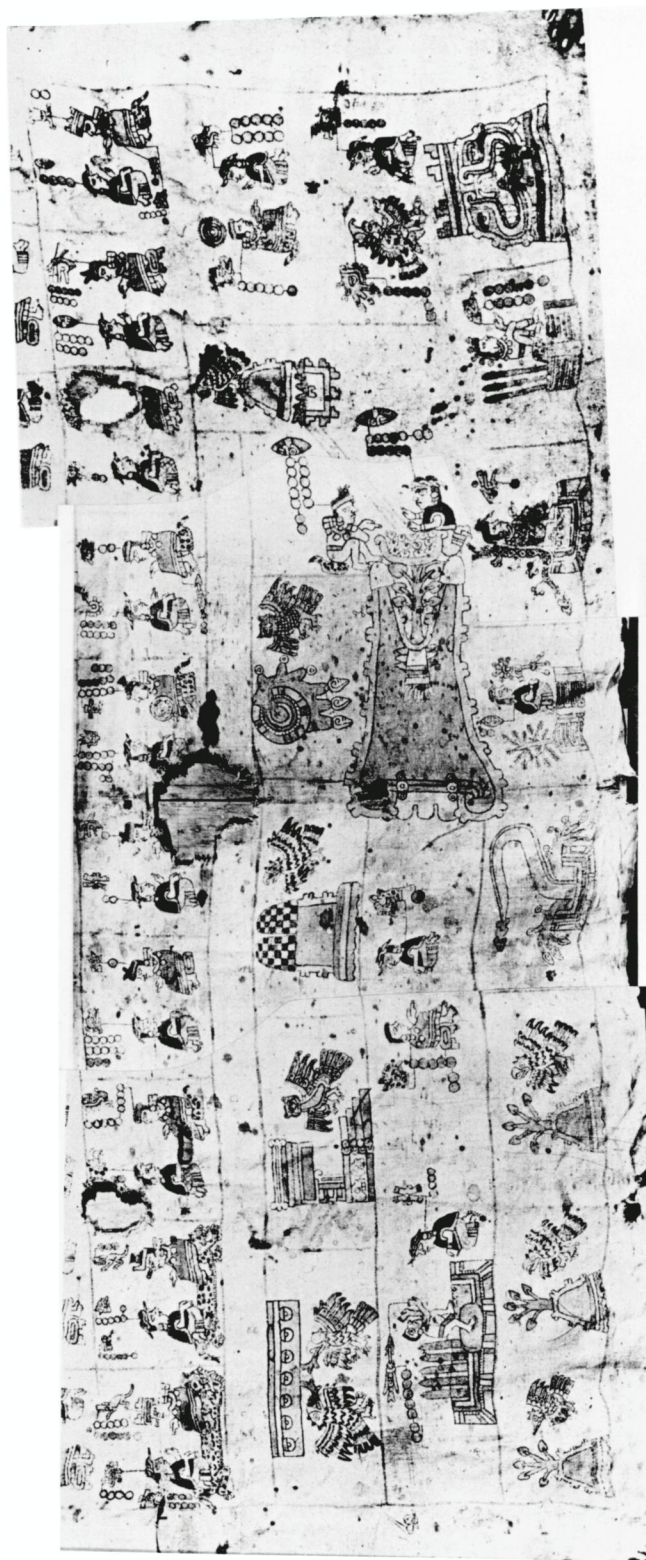


Fig.29 Complete lower section of Lienzo Tequixtepec I.

story and its sequel, excels its depiction on the Lienzo of Tlapiltepec by the same degree of sophistication that the depiction of 3 Lizard on Tequixtepec I excels his depiction on Ihuitlán. This lower section, then, shows the large lienzo of Tequixtepec outdoing a second important lienzo of the Valley of Coixtlahuaca.

By 1970, when I was shown the lienzos of Tequixtepec, I had become aware that five of the other lienzos of the valley featured the personages of two particularly important genealogies, with the "Meixueiro" riders in the temples on the serpent-like-a-Viking-ship (Fig. 25) being scions of the two lines. Because Lord 4 Jaguar, on the left, is the most important member of his line, I had come to call this the genealogy of 4 Jaguar.<sup>22</sup> Lord 10 Serpent on the right is a much later descendant of the other genealogy, the line of Lord 1/8 Wind (with a slash dividing the numbers because this founding father, shown through his wife and his descendants to be unquestionably the same person, is called 1 Wind on two of the lienzos and 8 Wind on two others).

With these genealogies in the back of my mind, I was especially eager to see how the genealogy on Tequixtepec I—and it seemed to be a single genealogy—related to the two on the other lienzos, especially to their representation on the Lienzo of Tlapiltepec, which depicted the two genealogies most fully. The first surprise, when I came to compare the genealogies, was that there

<sup>22</sup>One of the most tempting possibilities in the study of Mexican pictorial manuscripts is to ascribe this 4 Jaguar of the Coixtlahuaca documents as the warrior of the same name who is shown accompanying Lord 8 Deer "Jaguar Claw" as a co-conqueror in Codex Nuttall and other codices showing 8 Deer's many invasions of his neighbors. Unfortunately, this cannot yet be established. In two of the Coixtlahuaca lienzos (Tlapiltepec and Seler II) 4 Jaguar's wife is shown as Lady 7 Wind. We would have evidence that the two conquerors were one and the same if the deer hide codices showed 4 Jaguar with a 7 Wind wife. But the codices give no clue as to the name of their 4 Jaguar's wife. Though he probably had a wife, as far as the codices are concerned, 4 Jaguar might as well have been a bachelor. Another factor causing doubt as to whether the Coixtlahuaca 4 Jaguar is the companion of 8 Deer is that the valley lienzos give no evidence of 8 Deer having entered the Valley of Coixtlahuaca, either as an invader or as an ally.

was no sign on Tequixtepec I of any of the people of 4 Jaguar, who on Tlapiltepec is shown in side vignettes as a doughty warrior making many conquests, as well as siring a long line of descendants.

The early part of the genealogy on Tequixtepec I turned out to be that of 1/8 Wind. Here the surprise was that the later generations of the 1/8 Wind line (as I knew them), with a single later exception, were missing. Perhaps all the new personages in the upper rank of red boxes were the children of 3 Lizard, and I knew only the descendants of 11 Lizard. Curiously, 1/8 Wind, a grandson of 11 Lizard, was missing from Tequixtepec. So was 1/8 Wind's father, Lord 12 Lizard. So Tequixtepec's large lienzo showed the ancestors 11 and 3 Lizard shared, skipped two generations, and then showed ten new generations (omitting all but one of the generations stemming from 11 Lizard). This seemed to confirm the indication on the Lienzo of Ihuitlán that the two Lizard brothers split. A likely interpretation is that after 11 Lizard departed, 3 Lizard remained as the solitary ruler of Tequixtepec in the east of the valley, while 11 Lizard settled in a place farther west, close to Ihuitlán and Tlapiltepec, on whose lienzos he and his descendants appear in detail.

Tequixtepec I, then, gives the fullest account of the early people of the valley, introduces ten generations whose affiliation is not certain, and contains almost none of the later personages shown on the other lienzos. Besides having no sign of the late-coming conqueror 4 Jaguar, it has no sign of the still later conqueror, 3 Rain. However its top border, in citing neighbors at Tequixtepec's frontiers, shows the glyph of Tlapiltepec. It was, in fact, from this earlier unidentified lienzo that I drew the glyph of the hill with the untautened reef knot shown in Figure 11.

The turn of Tequixtepec II, the smaller lienzo which I did not photograph myself, did not come until I obtained Zarate's three photographs of its bottom, middle, and top sections. Figure 30 shows the lowest segment and the narrowness



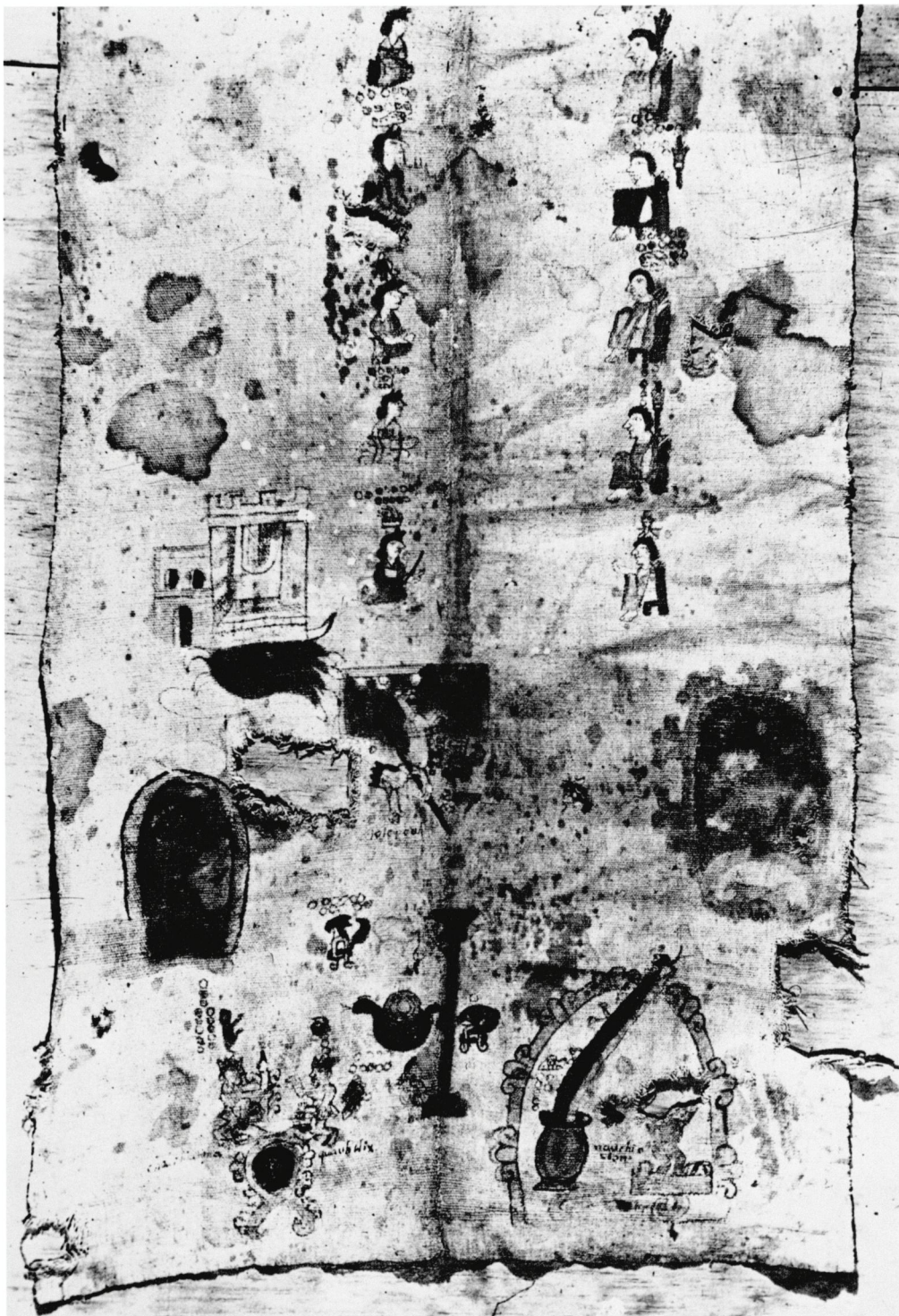


Fig.30 Lowest third of Lienzo Tequixtepec II. Photograph courtesy of Adolfo Zarate Mendez.

which allowed it to be encompassed in a single closeup shot. Zarate's photograph reflects both the poor drawing and sloppy execution that so disappointed me when I first saw the lienzo in Tequixtepec, as well as the way its rather dirty background tends to absorb details, making them difficult to read.

Tequixtepec II also begins with legendary ancestors, turning into a long genealogy only higher up. Unlike the horizontal arrangement of the genealogy on the larger lienzo, the genealogy of Tequixtepec II is stacked vertically, reading from the bottom upwards. In this it resembles most of the Post-Conquest lienzos, and Mary Elizabeth Smith has shrewdly judged that vertical stacking is a sign of European influence. This segment shows only the first four generations of the genealogy—men on the right, women on the left.<sup>23</sup>

The fire-making scene also appears in the smaller Tequixtepec lienzo. I have tried to make it more discernible in Figure 31 by setting it above the clearer depiction on the Selden Roll. If one does not strain too much after detail, similar configurations can be readily seen. Here the migrant ancestors are shown again with their saw-tooth crowns. In both depictions one of them hovers above in a river of stars, a lance over his shoulder, and in both the fire is being made over a place of interlinked serpents. Here 4 Monkey holds the log while 13 Lizard rotates the drill.

<sup>23</sup>In addition to these four generations there are eleven more, before a horizontal strip of straw matting separates the top of the lienzo into an area of further generations, arranged in two ragged columns of five generations each. Because the names are so hard to read in Zarate's photos (partly because of debased representation, partly because of holes where names once existed, and especially with the photo of the top, because of poor focus in the photography), I have studied the personages involved only enough to determine that they do not belong either to 4 Jaguar's or to 1/8 Wind's lines. Nor are they the people in the upper tier boxes of Tequixtepec I that I have postulated might be the descendants of 3 Lizard. These still-to-be identified genealogies underline what the other lienzos also proclaim: how crowded with people the Valley of Coixtlahuaca must have been in Pre-Columbian times, for the genealogies record only overlords, ignoring serfs, retainers, and members of the lower classes; how many great families there were; and how far back the families traced their ancestors.

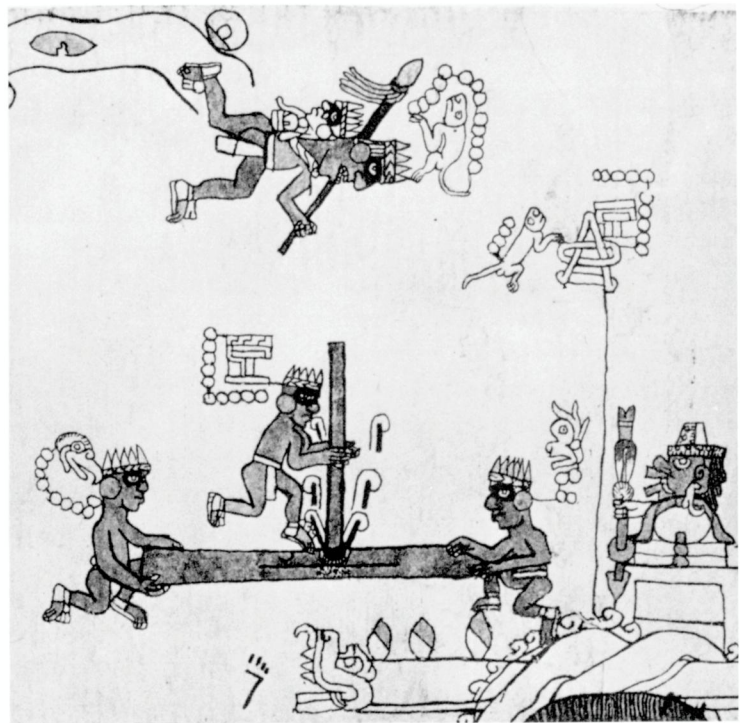
Having finally remembered where I had seen the jagged crowns of the nude men on Tequixtepec II, I was pretty sure I had discerned the migrant kings of the Selden Roll while examining the lienzo in its native village, but it was not until I received the Zarate photos that two major confirmations were possible: 1) that because the migrants had the same names on both documents, they were the same people; and 2) that the fire-making scene was also on Tequixtepec II. With these confirmations, an interesting fact about Tequixtepec's two lienzos flashed on me. The village had two distinct documents to tell the two lineage stories that in the Lienzo of Tlapiltepec were compressed on a single document. The fact that the story of the four migrant fire-makers was on the smaller Tequixtepec lienzo also provided further evidence that the Selden Roll, which had been in the Bodleian Library in Oxford since at least 1659, was a Coixtlahuaca document. For we now had proof from a second lienzo, also of unquestionable valley origin, that the four men of the saw-toothed crowns were important culture heroes to the Pre-Conquest people of the valley. It is almost certain that these heroes came from elsewhere, but it was in the Coixtlahuaca Valley that their followers remembered them with special pride. Having a particular fondness for the Selden Roll as the document that opened up the world of the codices for me, I felt doubly grateful that I could now claim it for the valley, which on each visit had come to seem more a part of my destiny.

Emily and I were both disappointed that we could not unequivocally identify any of the personages on the large lienzo of Tequixtepec as being in either Codex Nuttall or Vindobonensis. Hope dimmed for the happy chance that the newly-found lienzo would provide a link between the documents of the Coixtlahuaca Valley and the Pre-Conquest codices that the lowest section resembled (see footnote 3). And, truth to tell, there was a good deal of tedium as Emily poked her needle through the cards of personage after per-





Fig. 31 The two fire-making scenes; Lienzo Tequixtepec II (*above*) and the Selden Roll (*right*).



sonage while searching the related documents for figures on Tequixtepec I. But there was always glee when we found other representations of the Tequixtepec people. When we located counterparts, they were generally depicted so differently that, had it not been for their names and associations, we would never have realized the same people were involved. There was, however, one great exception. Undoubtedly we had our greatest thrill when we came to Lord 7 Reed. The needle showed that he was also to be found on the reverse of the Gómez de Orozco fragment, and luckily the Mitla file included Caso's excellent full-scale reproduction in color (1954). It had been at least seven or eight years since I had looked at the fragment, and although I remembered Caso's cross-references to the Lienzo of Tlapiltepec, I had forgotten which correlations he had pointed out; I had no conscious memory of the scene in the fragment in which 7 Reed appeared. These people, with such a limited number of names and practically no idiosyncratic characteristics to make them individually memorable, are the devil's own problem to keep straight. But when Emily pointed to where her needle had disclosed 7 Reed's presence on the reverse of the fragment (Fig. 20), and I laid beside it my closeup in color of the left bottom half of Tequixtepec I (Plate III), I could hardly contain myself. "Emily," I cried out, "do you see what I see?" She did, and we were both so excited that we called for Paddock to join us so that he, too, could see how one scene duplicated the other. John was properly impressed, and he quickly caught a further similarity I had not yet seen: the big jade like a bathmat was in the fragment, too, though here 7 Reed seemed to have kicked it behind.

Although the sequences are in black and white in Figure 32, the reader can get an idea of what we were seeing. I have shown the sequences separately earlier, but here I have set them together in order to point out how many and how striking are the resemblances. Note how 7 Reed's arms and hands are upraised similarly in both de-

pictions, for example. I wish the details of Gómez de Orozco showed more clearly; one can see that to the right of 7 Reed and Lady 4 Motion is another couple. They are the same personages on each document. The man is 7 Jaguar and the woman is 1 Jaguar (supporting Tequixtepec's numbering against Tlapiltepec's). Note that both sequences are divided into three registers. The dividing lines on Gómez de Orozco are also red. Note the similarities in the upper register. In both, an owl flies towards a place glyph—a river this time in place of a temple; again, a black and white eagle flies towards a checked hill, which has a cleft down its center.

There is less correspondence in the lower register, for instead of the birds and the rattlesnakes diving into the river, one sees two seated men: Lord 11 Serpent and Lord 1 Wind who has a flowered serpent running up his back. But even these are not strangers, for they are sons of Lord and Lady 12 Flint and are shown a little farther along in the lowest register of the Tequixtepec lienzo (Fig. 29). The difference is that the same information is more compressed on Gómez de Orozco. A curiosity about the contrast is that although the painting on Gómez de Orozco is on sized deer hide, a painting surface that probably antedates the use of cotton, the style is more degenerate than that in the painting on cloth. What we have here, then, is an earlier painting (because of its purer style) on a new type of surface, and a later painting of the same scene still using the older means of record keeping.

The two scenes also suggest the existence of a document that has not yet come to light, if indeed it is not lost. For surely both artists were basing their work on a common model. Its structural forms clearly influenced them both, but the difference in the disposition of some of the information shows that each felt free to take liberties with the original. The arrangement and the styles also suggest that the lost codex might have been Pre-Columbian.

Caso was told by Gómez de Orozco that his



Fig. 32 Seven Reed stepping from the water in Lienzo Tequixtepec I (*top*) and in Fragmento Gómez de Orozco (*bottom*).





codex was first purchased from Indians in Cuicatlán, a town in the Cañada adjoining the Coixtlahuaca Valley to the east, but outside the valley (Fig. 3). But now that we know how the information on its reverse duplicates the material on the Selden Roll, the Lienzo of Tlapiltepec, and Tequixtepec I, we are pretty safe in assuming that the Gómez de Orozco fragment is also a Coixtlahuaca Valley product. This is further supported by what remains of its front. The descent from the sky extending over its three painted pages parallels the start of the Selden Roll story of the four migrant ancestral heroes, who, in becoming mythic, seem to have acquired semi-divine status. So the two migration stories that the lienzos of Tequixtepec divide between two documents are shown as one in the Gómez de Orozco fragment, though here the story of the fire-making lords is presented on the front and the story of Lord and Lady 12 Flint on the reverse instead of side by side, as on the Lienzo of Tlapiltepec. The sixteenth century commissioner of the fragment—the style is too corrupt for it to be Pre-Conquest—was probably another valley ruler recording his descent from both lines of migration as evidence to support his baronial claims and ancient privileges for the Spaniards.

The two Tequixtepec lienzos, then, by being found *in situ*, help anchor other documents (still not placed with the same exactitude) more securely in the Coixtlahuaca Valley.<sup>24</sup> They provide information to confirm and elucidate further other valley documents. Because the Tequixtepec lienzos concur at so many points with the other documents in dates, happenings, and genealogies, they provide further proof of what Caso demonstrated to the members of the American Anthropological Association (Caso 1960a): that Mixtec documents, both before and after the Conquest, are reliable as historical records because of their accuracy and consistency. The two lienzos enrich the historical record further by providing a good deal of totally new information about the valley and its ancient people; and Tequixtepec I, by its good state of preservation and decisively clear draftsmanship,

makes many names legible that are lost or indistinct on other documents. Despite the story in *Novedades* that Tequixtepec was going to give its lienzos to the President of Mexico—followed by a rumor that they were going to be bestowed instead on the National Museum—the town has kept them in its own possession (Raul Guzman, personal communication, October 24, 1981). One would like to think of them housed in conditions closer to museum care, but it is good to realize that they are guarded as zealously by the new generation of *principales* as they were by the generations who guarded them for four centuries when they were unknown to the outside world.

<sup>24</sup>The stylistically ambiguous Codex Baranada is another document that Caso deduced came from a zone in the Mixteca near Coixtlahuaca (1958b). He did so by showing that it contained elements also in the Selden Roll and the Lienzo of Tlapiltepec (which he was still calling “Antonio de León”). Caso’s death on November 30, 1970, was a year and four months before I met Fidel López Carrasco, so I was never able to give Caso the evidence I found securely linking the Royal Ontario Museum’s lienzo to Tlapiltepec. However, Caso knew about the lienzos of Tequixtepec before his death. When I told him in 1960 that I had heard that Tequixtepec had a lienzo, he advised me to keep the information to myself. In May, 1970, when he was in Oaxaca, I tried unsuccessfully to reach him through Paddock to tell him in confidence that at last I had been shown Tequixtepec’s lienzo, along with an unexpected second one. But once I learned that the Oaxaca authorities also knew about the lienzos, I wrote Caso openly about them and sent him four of my colored photographs (having surrendered the negatives to make prints of the rest). He replied in August that he had Zarate’s photos of the big lienzo, and that he had already incorporated his study into a nearly finished book, *Reyes y reinos de la Mixteca*.

Although credited to 1977 on the reverse of the title page, the first volume of this long delayed work did not appear until the fall of 1978. Information from the two lienzos of Tequixtepec—which Caso calls “Tecciztepec” throughout—is incorporated into his Chapter VII, “La Región de Coixtlahuaca” (118–136); for he found data on the lienzos that confirmed and clarified information on documents known earlier. The volume, however, contains no comprehensive study of the lienzos; nor are the whole lienzos, or details from them, included among the illustrations. His Appendix V, “Tabla de las Genealogías de la Región Chocho-Popoloca,” names the personages on Tequixtepec I (231) and on Tequixtepec II (239). There is commentary on them, and their relations with personages on other documents, in the second volume of *Reyes y reinos*, which is a dictionary of all the men and women depicted in the Mixtec pictorial manuscripts. Because no effort was made to add footnotes to the two volumes to update discoveries since Caso’s death, the Lienzo of Tlapiltepec is called “Antonio de León” throughout, and Tlapiltepec is not mentioned among the important towns of the Coixtlahuaca Valley.



## The Non-inheriting Children of the 12 Flints: A Case Study in Exploring the Lienzos<sup>25</sup>

### The Importance of the Corpus

In the summer of 1978, when my grasp of the Coixtlahuaca lienzos had increased and I had gained more confidence in my judgment, I took my nerve into my hands. In a paper given at the *Primera Mesa Redonda de Estudios Mixtecos* held in June in Oaxaca,<sup>26</sup> I included a statement that I knew ran counter to the then current thinking about Mexican pictorial manuscripts. The documents of the Coixtlahuaca Valley, I said, were equal in importance to the much better-known screenfold documents on deer hide dealing especially with the rulers of Tilantongo, particularly the most famous of them, Lord 8 Deer.

I expected the heavens to fall, for that particular conference was a den of 8 Deer experts. So I hastened to define what I meant by "importance" in this evaluation. I was not referring to artistic worth, for I would not claim for a moment that the Coixtlahuaca documents are the equal as works of art of the glorious deer hide screenfolds. Nor was I referring to the two groups of documents as archaeological artifacts. Because most of the Tilantongo documents are Pre-Conquest, while the Coixtlahuaca ones all seem to be Post-Conquest, there is no question of the former having superior value by this criterion, either. The ground on which I rated them was an aspect of the natures they shared. The foregoing chapters have shown that the Coixtlahuaca lienzos are histories rather than ritual documents. Ever since Zelia Nuttall's classic demonstration in 1902 that Codex Nuttall was a historical document, we

have known that its companion codices were also histories. What I wanted to say was that as repositories of historical information the lesser-known Coixtlahuaca documents, most of them painted on cotton, were as important as the more glamorous corpus painted on deer hide.

I based my argument on four points. First, the lienzos preserve an enormous amount of history that is *not* on the deer hides; so they are a supplemental resource that is only beginning to be tapped. Second, they have an advantage in being more numerous and presenting a larger number of dynasties. Third, having a far large geographical element than the deer hides, they have an additional dimension in that they are maps illustrating history, as well as histories. And the value of this extra dimension is increased by what has been demonstrated in these chapters—the accuracy of their cartography. Whereas the deer hides only hint at terrains, extents of baronies, regions

<sup>25</sup>This chapter is a reworked version of a paper prepared for the Forty-third International Congress of Americanists in Vancouver, B.C., Canada, held August 11 to 17, 1979. It was delivered on August 14 at a symposium on "Mixtec Codices and Manuscripts" organized by Nancy Troike. Then it had the longer title "Two Flint, One Wind, and Eleven Serpent, the Non-inheriting Children of Lord and Lady Twelve Flint as Represented in Four Documents of the Coixtlahuaca Valley." It was not published by the Congress because the Congress backed out of the responsibility of bringing out the Proceedings. It is abstracted, however, on page 97 of *Program & Abstracts, XLIII International Congress of Americanists, Vancouver, Canada*, University of British Columbia and Simon Fraser University.

<sup>26</sup>The round table was organized by the Centro Regional de Oaxaca, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, and held on June 26 and 27, 1978 (Jansen and Gaxiola 1978).

of conquest and routes of famous journeys, the Coixtlahuaca lienzos—influenced, no doubt, by exposure to European maps—show these features so graphically they can almost be presented on modern maps. Fourth—and this is the merit that this chapter is particularly concerned to illustrate—many of the Coixtlahuaca documents overlap in their details. If they differed on those details this would only make for confusion. But they don't. In fact, considering that they were painted by different artists in different places at different times, the extent of agreement is truly remarkable. And what emerges from the study of them is how accurately these people remembered their past. Where the records differ is not in the information they preserve, but in how completely they preserve the minor details associated with the main facts. Some records are skimpy, some are richly detailed; some details are full enough to leave little doubt of the story they tell. It is thrilling to see the details set side by side so they can augment and elucidate each other—puzzling objects become intelligible, incorrect interpretations get corrected, and incomplete pictures fill out as they come into focus.

Illustrations of these things have already been given. By observing two representations of Lord 3 Lizard of Tequixtepec placed together (Fig. 27), we were able to discern from two lienzos how he once ruled jointly with his brother 11 Lizard and later split away to found his own barony. By seeing how two lienzos show who ruled at Tlapiltepec (Figs. 8, 13), and how four documents show how the glyph of Tlapiltepec was represented (Figs. 8, 11, 12, 14), we come to a knowledge of Tlapiltepec that is much fuller—and much less open to question—than any of the single representations provided. The two migrations from Chicomoztoc were similarly elucidated: a) when both were shown on the lienzo of Tlapiltepec (Fig. 19); b) when they were shown divided between the two lienzos in the possession of Tequixtepec (Figs. 29, 30); c) when the migration of the lords with the saw-toothed crowns

was shown in great detail on the Selden Roll (Figs. 21, 22, 23); and d) when two scenes from the migration of the forebears of Lord and Lady 12 Flint on the Gómez de Orozco Fragment were shown to corroborate the same two scenes on Tequixtepec I (Fig. 32). In order to show with greater clarity the further scenes of migration depicted on that lienzo, and so I could obtain a version to cut up for individual drawings, I redrew the lower quarter of the lienzo on a larger scale (Fig. 33). By cutting out Lord and Lady 12 Flint (Fig. 34) I extracted them from the ensemble and have presented them in an upright orientation that is visually comfortable. Caso believed they belong to certain borderline cases that appear in many Mixtec pictorial histories: not legendary ancestors, but semi-mythic forebears, who gradually shade up into historical personages. Although the 12 Flints might not be securely historical, they are certainly the near-ancestors of historical rulers. Caso (1977) thought that their children, who definitely belong to history, reigned early in the eleventh century of the Christian era.

## The Non-inheritors

The four children of Lord and Lady 12 Flint were drawn to the reader's attention in the previous chapter. At first only one son was named, the eagle knight Lord 7 Water, shown in Figure 29 seated above Chicomoztoc facing his wife 5 Vulture, his lineage starting above him and then, after two generations bending to the left. Lord 11 Serpent and Lord 1 Wind were named later, when their Tequixtepec representations (Fig. 29) were compared with those on Gómez de Orozco (Fig. 32). The remaining child, Lady 2 Flint, can be seen in Figure 33, sitting behind her brothers nearer the base of their parents' hill.

And here a little more should be said about Mixtec names. I gave no explanation in discussing the Tequixtepec personages whose names were self-evident—those named for days with easily re-

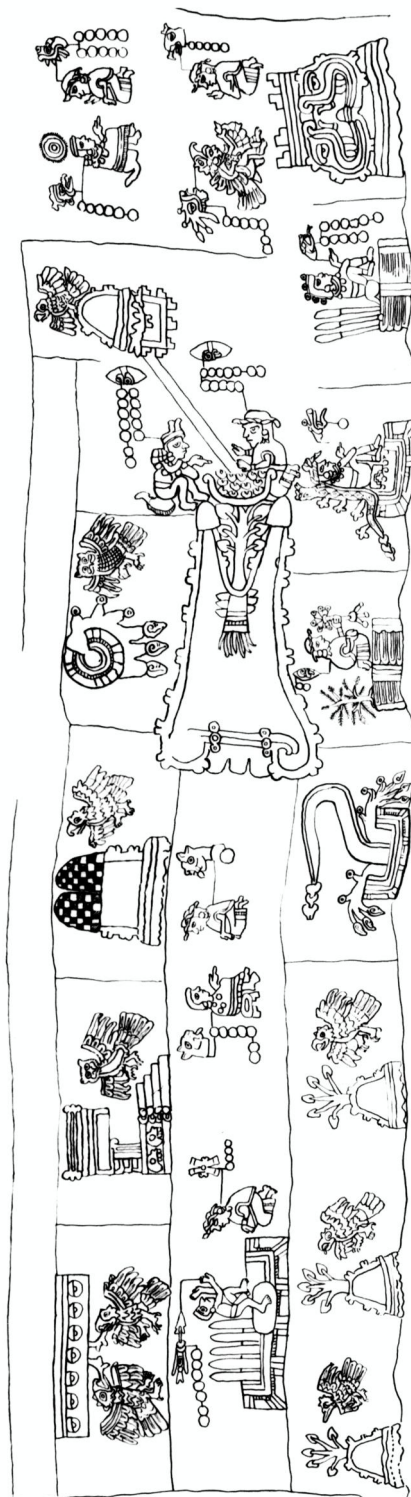


Fig. 33 Drawing of the lower quarter of Lienzo Tequixtepec I.

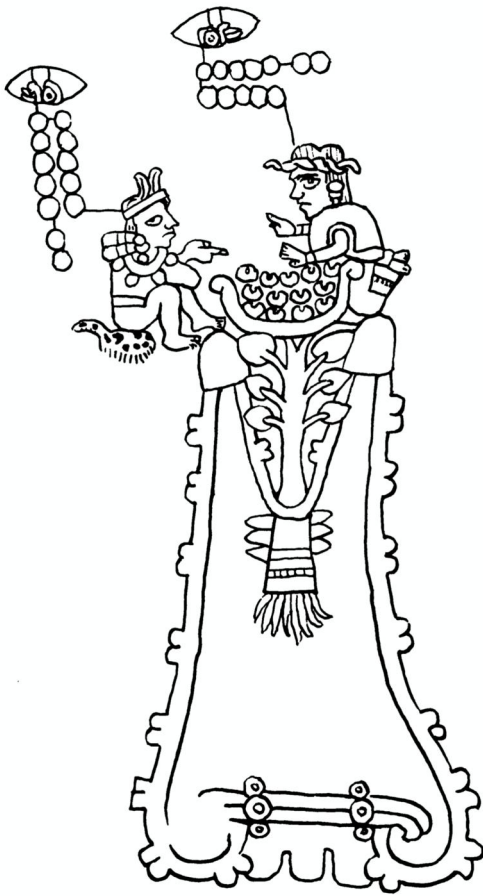


Fig. 34 Lord and Lady 12 Flint on Lienzo Tequixtepec I, right side up.

cognized symbols, like jaguar, vulture, serpent, and lizard. But some of the day signs are more abstract. To understand why an arrow stands for Reed, for example, one needs to know that these people used reeds for the shafts of their arrows. Water, too, is represented literally, though it is not always recognizable as such; the convention depicts drops at the ends of tongues of water that emerge from a form like a right-angle brace. Motion is generally represented by a rather fat X—see Lady 4 Motion in Figure 33. Wind, like Rain, is derived from religious iconography. The Wind God is generally represented wearing a mouth mask not unlike a duck's bill, and the day name

for Wind consists of the mask alone. The most important Mixtec personages, too, were generally further identified by nicknames. "Flowering Serpent," for instance, is the nickname of Lord 1 Wind (Fig. 38); and the eagle knight costume of Lord 7 Water shows that his additional name is "Eagle."

The three bottom-line children of the 12 Flints are the ones I want to pursue in the present chapter, not only for their own importance, but as case histories to illustrate what I singled out as one of the great values of the Coixtlahuaca documents: the way they overlap, and how that overlapping can be exploited to provide corroborating and supplementary information. It is possible to set the different representations of personages horizontally side by side because they appear on four valley documents. I have named the personages "the non-inheriting children of the 12 Flints" to distinguish them from Lord 7 Water "Eagle," whom I take to be the inheriting son.

The horizontal axis between the 12 Flints and 7 Water shows that his relationship with the 12 Flints differs from that of his brothers and sister. And the fact that Tequixtepec I shows 7 Water succeeded by so many generations of his descendants suggests a relationship inheritance. Here surely is the royal line—at least, of one important place in the Coixtlahuaca Valley. The fact that no succeeding generations are given for either Lady 2 Flint, 1 Wind or 11 Serpent, as well as showing that theirs is a different relationship with their parents, indicates that they did not inherit any overlordship in the Coixtlahuaca Valley. Had their descendants been important in the valley, they would have been shown on the lienzo. On Tlapiltepec, too, 7 Water is on a straight axis with his parents (vertical, in this case), and the other siblings, besides being differently disposed, are also shown without descendants. There are indications that the bottom-line children of Tequixtepec I went elsewhere. On Tlapiltepec, as first shown by Caso (1961), 2 Flint and 11 Serpent are ruled off from the other personages on

the sheet by a horizontal black line so decisive that it even shows, parallel to the bottom border, in the reduction of Figure 6. The same lienzo depicts 1 Wind at the opposite border, the fourteen-foot length of the sheet away. On Seler II, which will play a larger role in this chapter than in the previous ones, a considerable distance from the parents is indicated by a long line of footprints. In this case 11 Serpent is the non-inheriting child who is shown migrating.

If the non-inheriting children of the 12 Flints apparently played no role in the Valley of Coixtlahuaca, it might be asked why they appear on four of the valley documents? The likely explanation is that they were so important in the places where they settled that the later people of the valley wanted to boast of their famous aunts and uncles. Besides, this was a further way of boasting of their direct and more powerful forebears, the 12 Flints. They could say, in effect, "Not only were Lord and Lady 12 Flint our forebears, but their importance can be gauged by the fact that they were also the forebears of such great personages in other regions as 2 Flint, 1 Wind, and 11 Serpent. We descend indeed from a great family."

Because the place of Lord and Lady 12 Flint is outside the jaguar skin frame of the majority of the personages on Seler II, and well below the place of the making of the New Fire in the Tlapiltepec, it is probable that it was not in the Valley of Coixtlahuaca. The representation on both Tequixtepec I and the Tlapiltepec shows it was a place of two major mountain peaks and an important tree. Its representation on Tequixtepec I (Fig. 34) shows the tree between the peaks; its representation on Tlapiltepec (Fig. 19) locates the tree growing from the peak on the right. Both lienzos show it was a place at some distance from Chicomoztoc, but just where is a matter that remains to be determined. However, there might be a significant clue in the fact that in the Tequixtepec I version the two thimblelike caps on the peaks are white. They may be volcanoes perpetu-

ally crowned by snow. But this is one of the many fascinating problems of the Coixtlahuaca documents I want to leave for others. Meanwhile, the rest of this chapter will investigate what can be learned about the non-inheritors by studying their overlapping representations. Because dates do not appear with them, we are deprived of this particular aid to decipherment, but in most cases we have three of the other major aids—calendrical names, nicknames, and place glyphs—and in the case of one representation we have a gloss.

## The First Commentators

In 1905 the first of the non-inheritors were called to scholarly attention by the sharp-eyed Walter Lehmann, then age 27 (Lehmann, 1905: 178–179). Lehmann found the two men in a tracing that his former teacher Eduard Seler had made in 1894 of an incomplete document that the Germans called "Fragmento Dorenberg" because it had been in the possession of Josef Dorenberg, the German Consul in Puebla.<sup>27</sup> In describing the personages on the reverse of the fragment, Lehmann pointed out one man who could be easily identified as 11 Serpent because the serpent head of his day sign was accompanied by eleven numbers (Fig. 35). Lord 11 Serpent seemed to be sitting close to a place glyph of four upright plants with exposed roots. Lehmann interpreted the clustered plants as bulrushes, which led him to identify the glyph as that of "Tollan," which meant 11 Serpent might be the ruler of Tula, the great city built by the Toltecs. Lehmann also called attention to another personage on the lowest tier of the page, sitting to the right of 11

<sup>27</sup>Dorenberg, it seems, never took the fragment from Mexico, and when it came to light again in the 1920s, it was purchased by a Mexican scholar, Federico Gómez de Orozco. Caso recognized it as the original of the fragment that Seler had traced and Lehmann described. When Caso (1954) published a reproduction of it, along with his commentary, he called the original "Fragmento Gómez de Orozco" to honor its Mexican owner at that time.

Serpent (Fig. 36). Lehmann identified him as 1 Wind because of the day sign in the form of the mouth mask of the Wind God. A place glyph seemed to be attached to him, too, and Lehmann identified the hill, looking like a tea cozy with a semi-collapsing tip, as the glyph of Culhuacan, an important town in the Valley of Mexico.

Almost fifty years passed before the two personages were called to public attention again. This time the interpreting scholar was Alfonso Caso (1954.) At that time, he did not know the two men were brothers, nor who their ancestors were. Nor had he discovered them on the Lienzo of Tlapiltepec. It seems, too, that he had forgotten how Lehmann had interpreted them. By 1954 the importance of nicknames was better understood than in Lehmann's day, and Caso, who had proved the importance of these subsidiary names, was on the alert for them. He detected personal names for both personages. Eleven Serpent, he said, had two, "Hair of Jewels" and "Reeds," for, with more reason on grounds of verisimilitude, he interpreted the clustered plants as reeds rather than bulrushes. But assuming the reeds to be part of a nickname led Caso to fail to see in them what Lehmann saw: a place glyph. Searching for 1 Wind's nickname, Caso saw the flowers seeming to run down his lordship's back. This led him to conclude that 1 Wind's personal name was "Hair of Flowers," which was understandable in view of how blurred and amorphous the upper part of the given name was. And because Caso saw only one place glyph—the bent hill, which he, like Lehmann, interpreted as Culhuacan—Caso perceived both men as coming from the same place.

The next year David Kelly, then at Harvard, reviewed Caso's *Gómez de Orozco* for *American Antiquity* (Kelly, 1955). He was glowing in his praise and found only one relatively minor point on which he was doubtful of Caso's interpretation. Lehmann's commentary on "Dorenberg" was fresher in Kelly's memory than it had been in Caso's when he commented on Gómez de

Orozco. Kelly sided with Caso rather than Lehmann in seeing the clustered plants as looking more like reeds than bulrushes, but he sided with Lehmann in believing the plants as more likely to represent a place glyph than a nickname.

"The glyph," wrote Kelly (1955: 401), "actually seems more like that of Acatlan ["Place of Reeds"] than Tollan, but the association with Culhuacan suggests that this may actually be a place glyph of Tollan, since Culhuacan and Tula are often associated in native writings. Even one more page of the manuscript would probably have solved the problem. . . ."

No further page of Gómez de Orozco has been found since. But the problem—as well as several associated ones—has been solved by the discovery of the large lienzo of Tequixtepec. Both 11 Serpent and 1 Wind are on the lienzo in relation to other members of their family (Fig. 33). On Tequixtepec I, they are depicted with greater clarity and more detail, as can be seen when they are disengaged in separate drawings (Figs. 37, 38). These representations show that Lehmann was right about the men being rulers of different places, rather than of one, as Caso said. The drawing of 11 Serpent indicates that Lehmann made a better guess about the plants being bulrushes rather than reeds. And the portrait of 1 Wind, as we will see shortly, elucidates his nickname. Tequixtepec I also shows that the two rulers were brothers and that both were descendants of the 12 Flints. It further shows that they had a sister, who, like themselves, was not a progenitor of the principal lineage on the lienzo.

### Lady 2 Flint

The sister is shown detached from the others in Figure 39 and at a larger scale; it can be seen that her name is Lady 2 Flint. Let us try to find what more we can learn about her from other documents of the Coixtlahuaca Valley. Luckily, she is also depicted on the Lienzo of Tlapiltepec, as shown in Figure 40. When the two illustrations



are set side by side, our eyes, in oscillating from one version to the other, can teach us a good deal about variations in native art styles. At the same time that the versions of the lady add information to each other, they also raise a number of intriguing questions about her, which perhaps will be answered as further documents or texts come to light. That the same personage is represented is shown by the calendrical name. But note the variations in the way the day signs are drawn. The flint knife in Tequixtepec I bears the eye, mouth and teeth of the rain god; the simpler flint in the Tlapiltepec is crossed only by a curved diagonal line. Day signs, as long as they remained recognizable, were often drawn with slight differences. Serpents and lizards, for instance, were sometimes represented only by their heads—but sometimes their whole bodies were drawn, too.

In both versions Lady 2 Flint is sitting back on her heels, as Japanese women sit. Each has her hair in braids, with the two braids intertwined around a cord, which allows for the braids to be lifted up at the back and tied together at the front, in the way that many village Indian women still wear their hair. Only the tips of the braids are shown in Tlapiltepec. Altogether, the Tlapiltepec woman is simpler. Her skirt has no stripes; her earring is rudimentary, and she shows only one upper arm and elbow, as opposed to the two arms and both hands of the woman on Tequixtepec. The lady on Tequixtepec I is also more accurately proportioned, for the woman on Tlapiltepec has outsize feet and her head is as large as her torso.

Next let us contrast the given names. That Lady 2 Flint of Tlapiltepec has a name is more clearly stated than in the case of her counterpart on Tequixtepec I. Her nickname is attached to her calendrical name, and for one knowing Mixtec art conventions, the elements are easy to recognize. The doughnut edged with five circles is a jewel. The ovoid form with volutes is a stone; and those are quetzal feathers rising from the larger cone nesting in the smaller one. A fair guess is that her given name was “Jewel-Stone-

Quetzal.” Often in Mixtec pictorial manuscripts personages either wear their nicknames or carry them, and the object in the left hand of 2 Flint of Tequixtepec probably represents her non-calendrical name. The nearest thing I can compare it to is a dainty eighteenth century fire-screen supported on a tripod base. Yet obviously it could not be such a piece of furniture. How does one correlate the two pictorial versions of what is probably the same name? A guess is that there is a fan of feathers in each version. The jewel motif may tip the feathers in the more puzzling version (Fig. 39), and the tripod base may be an alternate pedestal emblem to a stone. I certainly could not begin to guess how the conglomeration of symbols would be spoken in Mixtec. But in some other document this woman may be found represented only by the symbols of her given name, which is why subsidiary names are valuable in establishing identities.

Since neither figure has a gloss, and we are spared dates, the representation of 2 Flint’s place glyph is what remains to be pieced together. The obvious element in common in both versions is the sturdy plant. The plants are of different species, one suggesting an evergreen, the other a plant with deciduous leaves. (This is the sort of variation that was allowed as long as the basic “plant” idea was preserved.) Often in Mixtec pictorials personages are shown sitting on their place glyphs. Not only does 2 Flint do this on Tequixtepec I, but in the same lienzo so do her two non-inheriting brothers. On Tlapiltepec, though, 2 Flint is connected to her glyph by a line, which is an alternate way to show connections between personages and places. Do the glyphs have more in common than their plants? An understanding of Mixtec artistic conventions comes in handy here, too. What 2 Flint is sitting on in Tequixtepec I is a feather carpet, which signifies a plain, or level place. An element of the place glyph on the other lienzo is a rectangle containing what suggests a Greek fret. This a a symbol for a town, and the fret is seen above two volutes which indi-

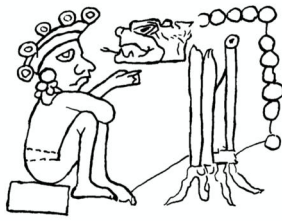


Fig. 35 Lord 11 Serpent on Fragmento Gómez de Orozco.

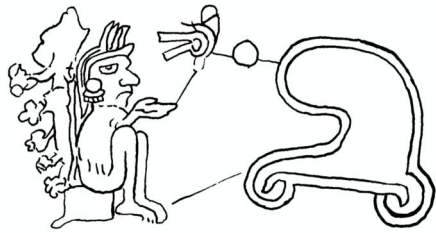


Fig. 36 Lord 1 Wind on Fragmento Gómez de Orozco.

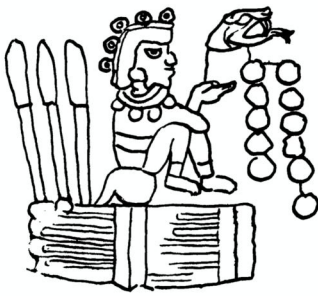


Fig. 37 Lord 11 Serpent on Lienzo Tequixtepec I.



Fig. 38 Lord 1 Wind on Lienzo Tequixtepec I.



Fig. 39 Lady 2 Flint on Lienzo Tlapiltepec I.

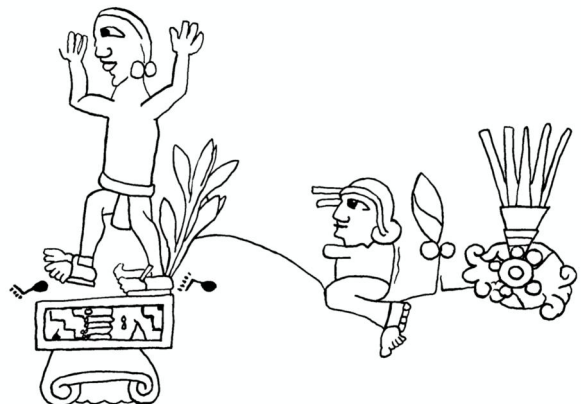


Fig. 40 Lady 2 Flint on the Lienzo of Tlapiltepec.

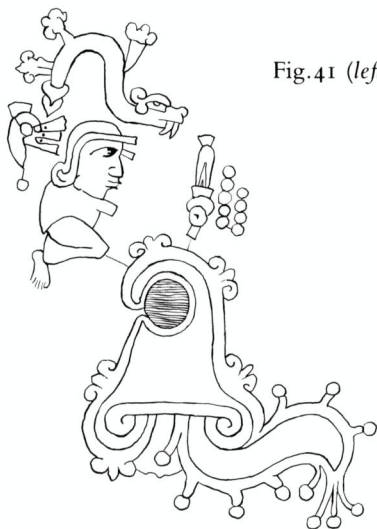


Fig. 41 (*left*) One Wind on the Lienzo of Tlapiltepec.

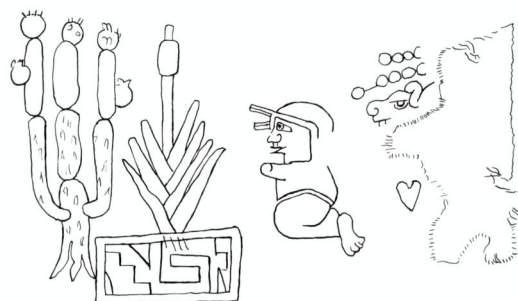


Fig. 42 (*above*) Lord Serpent and his wife on the Lienzo of Tlapiltepec.

Fig. 43 (*below*) Lord 11 Serpent on Lienzo Seler II.



cate the lower part of the symbol for a hill. Perhaps the barony has been extended to include a town part way up the hill, as well as the town in the level land at its foot.

And what are we to make of the dancing man? It could be 2 Flint's husband, or her son. In either interpretation the man, (he is not named) seems happy to be escaping from such a dour mother-wife figure. Or perhaps the dancing man may be part of the name of the place, as Caso thought. The footprints on either side of him, however, suggest a man on a journey, rather than a static symbol. With so many possible interpretations, we obviously need to find more representations of Lady 2 Flint to settle the matters in dispute. But what we have found has enabled us to extend our knowledge of her. Hopefully, on some yet-to-be-discovered pictorial manuscript, she may be shown with a named husband and a named son. And if we are lucky enough to find a gloss on the representation, we will learn where she settled. Or she may be found in a chronicle, or a prose document without illustrations. If so, her picture representations may be complete enough to show us that the woman pictured and the woman described are one and the same.

## One Wind

In the case of her brother 1 Wind, we are lucky enough to have him depicted on three of our documents. In studying his appearance on Gómez de Orozco (Fig. 36), we have already seen him in his least artistic guise. Figure 38 is an enlarged version of how he appears on Tequixtepec I. Again one sees two representations of a day sign that vary, but not so much as to prevent either from being easily recognized as the mouth-mask of the Wind God. Here the great contribution of the Tequixtepec I version is the one already cited: the clarification of the nickname. The Tequixtepec version shows clearly that it was not "Hair of Flowers," as Caso thought when he had only Gómez de Orozco to go on, but "Flowered Ser-

pent." Because the reptile's head has a clarity in Tequixtepec I that it lacks in Gómez de Orozco, it is established that a serpent is represented, rather than a long braid; and any possible doubt is eliminated by the serpent's diamond-back markings and heart-shaped rattles at the end of its tail in Tequixtepec I. "Flowered Serpent" is seen elsewhere in the codices as a nickname, but it is worth noting that it is a name generally given to a woman.<sup>28</sup>

One Wind in Gómez de Orozco (Fig. 36) is seated on a throne, as he is in Tequixtepec I, but his humble jaguar throne is as poor in comparison with the stepped-leg throne in Tequixtepec as is nearly every other detail about him. His diadem is simpler, he has no necklace of gold beads, no anklets; he lacks one arm, and he may not even have a loin cloth. But there is no ambiguity about his sex, whereas the hair of Tequixtepec's 1 Wind (Fig. 38) may be braided with a cord and tied at the front, like a woman's. One Wind wears an over-garment so diaphanous that I have not indicated it in my line drawing. In the lienzo it resembles nothing so much as a rose-colored see-through nighty. Thus he seems to be quite an effeminate man.

With these paired representations, there seems to be a contradiction in the place glyphs, too. Tequixtepec's 1 Wind is sitting on his, and it represents a body of water or a river, with wavelets forming scrolls on its surface. The glyph of Gómez de Orozco's 1 Wind, which is connected to 1 Wind by a line, is, as we have seen, a hill with its crest curving towards him. Here again proof is given of the great advantage of having a representation on an additional document.

A fuller representation of the glyph for 1 Wind "Flowered Serpent" on the Tlapiltepec, shows that it contains both elements (Fig. 41). From the base of the curved-over hill flows a vigorous river, spattering water drops as it runs in its

<sup>28</sup>Lady 13 Serpent "Flowered Serpent," the first wife of Lord 8 Deer "Jaguar Claw," is an instance.

course. But notice a curious fact: this 1 Wind is unmistakably a woman—almost the exact twin of Lady 2 Flint on the same lienzo (Fig. 40). And Figures 40 and 41 together illustrate one of the artistic characteristics of Tlapiltepec: the place glyphs tend to be drawn with more zest, authority, care, and completeness than the very standardized people. Over Curved-Hill-Water in Tlapiltepec is the sign for 9 Reed. Because there is no accompanying year sign, we can be comfortably sure it represents a name, probably that of 1 Wind's husband, though perhaps of a son. This Curved-Hill-Water place, incidentally, is the one place of a non-inheritor which, on Tlapiltepec, is shown to be within the Valley of Coixtlahuaca. However, it is at the extreme southwest of the valley, near the foot of Cerro Verde, or Nudo Mixteco, the highest peak in the Mixteca.

Because some women were powerful in the Mixteca, a woman ruler is not unusual. We have already had the example of Lady 2 Flint. So there is nothing strange about Curved-Hill-Water having a woman in charge. But why should the personage, with the same calendrical name, the same given name, and the same place glyph, be obviously a man in one document, obviously a woman in another, and perhaps androgynous in a third? It may be that androgyny was commoner and more accepted in the Mixteca than has been recognized. For the Lienzo of Philadelphia, the other Mixtec lienzo that John Wise picked up at the Hearst sale in Gimbel's, shows five characters—8 Monkey, 11 Reed, 13 Flower, 1 Eagle and 9 Serpent—who are dressed as men when they start on their migration, and dressed as women with braided hair when shown settled as wives in their new domains (Parmenter 1966). A less complicated explanation, of course, is the one hinted at earlier, that these important forebears on our documents lived so long ago that by the sixteenth century, when they were depicted for the courts in Mexico, tribal memory, which recalled their names correctly, was no longer sure of the sexes. The theory of inadequate recall is

further supported by the fact that in every case but one, the name of the lesser member of the couple seems to be forgotten altogether.

## Lord 11 Serpent

We return now to 11 Serpent, the non-inheritor we know most about since he appears on four of our documents. We have already contrasted two of his portraits: as he appears on Tequixtepec I (Fig. 37) and as he appears on Gómez de Orozco (Fig. 35). Because he has the same head-dress in both, we see that Caso was right about the indications of his nickname "Hair of Jewels," which Caso later interpreted more felicitously as "Diadem of Jewels." And now that we know that the glyph Caso mistook to be another personal name, "Reeds," is a place glyph, we can comment more fully on the two representations of this indicator of 11 Serpent's domain. Already we have seen part of the fuller story told in the Tequixtepec I version, the cylindrical bulges above the stalks confirming that bulrushes, rather than reeds are intended. The Tequixtepec version tells us further that 11 Serpent's domain was a level place, for the feather carpet on which his jaguar throne rests is the conventional Mixtec representation of a plain.

Figure 42 shows 11 Serpent on the Tlapiltepec. Here the bulrush interpretation is clinched by the detailed realism of the drawing. And note there is a second—a cactus, probably an *organo*. There is also a fret meaning a town, which when combined with the feather carpet of Tequixtepec I shows that the place to which 11 Serpent migrated was a town on a plain. The care with which this glyph is drawn provides a third example of how the Tlapiltepec artist cared more for place glyphs than for human characters. The form on the right, which suggests a Scotch terrier walking on its hind legs, is a very carefully drawn and scaled depiction of the hole that has either been chewed, torn, or worn from the cloth of the lienzo at this point. As can be

seen, the hole has destroyed part of the calendrical name. But with the aid of the other documents we can fill in the missing elements. What survives of the head suggests a serpent figure, and the solitary heart, representing the last of a series of rattles, confirms that the day sign is indeed "Serpent." The beads that remain also point to eleven as the likely number, for two strings of five, with an odd bead dangling from one of them, is a common way of presenting eleven. Our two strings of three-and-a-half beads strongly suggests groups of five.

My first thought was that the woman shown was the unnamed wife of Lord 11 Serpent, and that her lord and master had been represented in the space that is now destroyed. But because I kept every element in my drawing in the scale of the original I came to see that the hole was not large enough to accommodate the representation of a man. Recognizing the same thing, Caso concluded that 11 Serpent's wife was shown in full, and that the baron himself was indicated only by his name. This is possible. But why on earth, if the wife was not important enough to name, would she be shown on the lienzo when her husband, clearly an important personage, was not? Might not this be another case of a faulty memory? Just as the Tlapiltepec artist painted 1 Wind "Flowered Serpent" as a woman, he might have painted 11 Serpent as a woman from not being sure of the right sex of the collateral progenitor that far back.

On Seler II (Fig. 43) 11 Serpent is clearly represented as a man, making the vote three to one in favor of a masculine identity for this personage. The jagged edge on the left of my redrawing shows how lucky we are that 11 Serpent was not torn away from this lienzo. As it is, we have lost the lower back-half of his temple or palace. Notice the footprints and line leading to him that indicate the last of his journey. And notice how differently he is drawn from the men on the other documents. His nudity is covered by a cloak or *tilma*, fixed at the shoulder by a jewel or a knot.

If his nickname was "Hair or Diadem of Jewels," it is missing here. Instead, like many of the noble personages on this lienzo, he has a headdress extended upward by clustered quetzal feathers; in his case he is unique in having two such clusters instead of one. And from the more complete renditions of the other nobles on the lienzo we can deduce that 11 Serpent is seated on a throne, his feet dangling (the throne is a casualty of the near destruction of this corner of the cloth).

Although this version of the place glyph lacks the fret of Tlapiltepec, it has the other two important elements: the cactus and the bulrush, though here the cactus is a *nopal*, rather than an *organo* cactus. And note all the elements given here that are not present in the other representations: the flow of water or surface of lake along the base of the glyph; the high stepped pyramid of seven terraces, more characteristic of the Toltecs or the Aztecs than of the Mixtecs; and the temple on top of the pyramid. The temple is of special interest because it is toppling, making it resemble the temples of overthrown religions on other Mexican pictorial manuscripts. And what is the object within the temple that resembles a cashew nut? The closest I can come to an interpretation is to suggest that it is a mummy bundle containing the precious relics of the religion being deposited.

Seler II is an enormous lienzo, almost fourteen feet broad and twice as tall as a man. To study it I had only a nine-by-seven inch photograph of the sheet in its entirety. With so drastic a reduction, it can be imagined how tiny this detail was in the photo at my disposal. Only with a magnifying glass could I make anything of it.<sup>29</sup> On April 8, 1978, Maarten Jansen, a brilliant young Dutch scholar who was in Mexico to study codices with a fellowship from the University of Leiden, came to visit me in my small house in Oaxaca. He had

<sup>29</sup>I would never have been able to draw Figure 43 had I not later been provided with somewhat larger photos of this corner of the lienzo by John Paddock and Manfred Kudlek. My thanks to them both.



become interested in two personages on the Lienzo of Tlapiltepec, who were segregated from the other personages by a heavy black horizontal line. They were two of my non-inheritors. I identified them as such and told him that I had begun studying them in 1970. Spurred by his interest, I decided to show him other representations of the non-inheriting children of the 12 Flints on documents that he had not studied in detail. This meant producing my reduced photo of Seler II, as one of the non-inheritors was in its upper right corner.

Handing the photo to Jansen, I showed him where to look. But it was the place glyph rather than the ruler that interested him most. The glyph reminded him of a well-identified glyph on Codex Sierra. Could this possibly represent the same place? He peered at it still more closely and then noticed something I had failed to see. Excitedly he exclaimed, "I think it has a gloss." Eager to help him verify the impression, I handed him a magnifying glass. When he focused it on the detail he snapped his fingers in delight. Not only was the gloss there, but he could read the first word. What is more, he could translate it. It was "Ñucoyo", which he knew was the Mixtec name for Tenochtitlan, the Nahuatl word for Mexico City. So it *was* the place shown on Codex Sierra. The gloss, forged to the best of my ability, is shown in Figure 44. On the lienzo, it is upside down to the figure of 11 Serpent. In Figure 44 it is shown right side up, along with how it was deciphered by Caso and by Viola König, Manfred Kudlek, and other members of the group from Hamburg University, that presented a paper on Seler II at the International Congress of Americanists in Paris in 1976. Jansen and I were both greatly excited by the discovery, and I mention our date because it was almost half a year before the appearance of the first volume of Caso's posthumously published *Reyes y reinos de la Mixteca*. Caso had beaten us to the discovery, but neither of us had any way of knowing this. We knew, however, that we had come upon a

ñūcoya Saatnudzic

Caso reads this:  
Ñucoyo Saatnudzia

Hamburg group reads this:  
Ñu-coyo Saa-tnu-dzic

Ñucoyo is Mixtec for *Tenochtitlán*  
(*Arte en lengua mixteca* by Antonio de los Reyes)

Place of Bulrushes

Saatnudzia	Where Spines Appear
Saa-tnu-dzic	Below Thorn Tree

Fig. 44 The gloss and translations of Lienzo Seler II.

major fact. Here was a Mixtec document that showed that an important Mixtec personage, born near the Coixtlahuaca Valley, went to Tenochtitlan at a very early date. The representation seemed to show, too, that once there he had assumed its rulership and overthrown the old religion.

What could all this mean? Were there Mixtecs at Tenochtitlan long before the arrival of the Aztecs? Had an important settlement existed on the site before the migrant Aztecs saw there an eagle on a cactus with a serpent in its claws? And could this indication of an early Mixtec ruler in the Valley of Mexico help account for the enormous influence that Mixtec art has had on Aztec art? When Caso's Volume I of *Reyes y reinos* finally appeared, we found he had reasoned that 11 Serpent, because he ante-dated the Aztecs, could not have been an Aztec ruler. To solve the puzzle, Caso postulated that 11 Serpent might have been

a ruler of Tenochtitlan who was considered to be descended from the 12 Flints. Caso guessed that 11 Serpent (which translates into Nahuatl as *Matlactli Coatl*) might be Matlalcoatzin, who ruled over Tula between A.D. 1101 and 1129.<sup>30</sup> But Tula is in Hidalgo, north of Mexico City. Unfortunately the maplike features of Seler II are not consistently oriented, so we cannot be sure of 11 Serpent's direction, but he seems to be going north. This might prevent him from being Matlalcoatzin, for Seler II is a southern document.

Whether 11 Serpent migrated from the south or the north, the fact that he settled in the Valley of Mexico throws light on his sexually ambiguous sibling, 1 Wind "Flowering Serpent." There are several places in Mexico either called Culhuacan or represented by a glyph with a curved-over peak; Monte Alban is an example of the latter. What the Tenochtitlan gloss for 11 Serpent contributes to the glyph of his brother is the certainty that this Culhuacan is, as Lehmann guessed, the place of that name in the Valley of Mexico, and not a place in the state of Oaxaca. This being so, facts known about the historical Culhuacan can be brought to bear in suggesting interpretations of its ruler as shown in the Coixtlahuaca documents. Culhuacan was one of the five city-states that had become powerful in the Valley of Mexico before the Aztecs entered the valley. There is disagreement as to when it was founded—some say by Mixcoatl after the fall of Teotihuacan, others that it was not founded until after the fall of Tula. But everyone agrees it was considerably older than Tenochtitlan. Another point of agreement is that the rulers of Culhuacan had more right to call themselves Toltec than the rulers of the other four city-states. Because of the greater security in Toltec lineage, Culhuacan was the power center to which the Aztecs turned for an infusion of noble blood after they had successively won independence from Atzacapotzalco (one of the other city-states)

and from Culhuacan. Several authorities say they were given a king, Acamapichli, with Toltec descent through the mother. Zelia Nuttall says they were given a queen. In her *Fundamental Principles of Old and New World Civilizations* (Nuttall 1901: 61–64), she contends that the title Cihuacoatl (Serpent Woman)—later used by the male coadjutor with Montezuma I and three subsequent Aztec rulers—stemmed from the Aztec acquisition of a prince or princess of Toltec blood. Be this as it may, Tlaacaellel, half-brother of Montezuma I, was called "Serpent Woman," despite the fact that he was a man. Could there be some connection between this ambiguously titled power behind four thrones, and the perhaps androgynous 1 Wind "Flowering Serpent" of Culhuacan? The possibility is worth exploring.

By the time Caso published his commentary on Codex Selden (Caso 1964), he had been able to study Seler II through photographs. This, aided by Kelly's questioning, enabled him to correct mistakes he had made about the non-inheritors in his commentary on Gómez de Orozco (Caso 1954). By then he knew, for example, that 11 Serpent and 1 Wind were rulers of different places and that the plants associated with 11 Serpent were bulrushes rather than reeds. By this time, too, he had abandoned the interpretation that 11 Serpent was the name of the woman shown in Figure 42; he now felt sure the name belonged to the missing husband. Volume I of *Reyes y reinos* shows that before he died he also caught other mistakes and changed other views. He corrected himself to "Flowered Serpent" rather than "Hair of Flowers" as the nickname of 1 Wind. He also came to accept the idea that 1 Wind (Figs. 36 and 41) was the same personage, even though one was shown as a man and one as a woman. With regard to Lady 2 Flint on Tlapiltepec (Fig. 40), he had, apparently, still not made up his mind as to whether the place glyph was the glyph of her own place or that of her husband, but he held to his view that the man with the raised arms and the lifted foot was not her

<sup>30</sup>In Volume II, Caso, (1979: 134), sets this reign back by three fifty-two year cycles and gives the dates as 945 to 973.

husband (he never seemed to think it was a son). The dancing man, he held, was an element of the place glyph, not a personage; and he named the place “Hombre que baila-planta.”

### Their Absence From the Deer Hides

In my story of Emily Rabin’s punch cards I told how in 1970 it was Emily’s needles which led us to 11 Serpent and 1 Wind on Gómez de Orozco. I should add that those same needles enabled us to find Lady 2 Flint on the Lienzo of Tlapiltepec. It was in January 1971 when, through photographs of the lienzo taken for me by Lee Warren of the Royal Ontario Museum, I found that 1 Wind “Flowering Serpent” was also on Tlapiltepec. At first, though, I rejected the identity because of the difference in sex. It was not until I studied the place glyph in each lienzo in conjunction with the nickname, that I was convinced the same person was depicted. It took still longer to find Lord 11 Serpent on Seler II, partly because my photograph was so small, and partly because his name was almost gone from Tlapiltepec, the document that provided a crosscheck. But the bulrush combined with a cactus on both lienzos kept my mind turning back to the two representations. When I became convinced that the calendrical name on the Tlapiltepec, even though incomplete, was 11 Serpent, I turned back to the 1976 ICA paper of the Hamburg group. Those who had worked on it had been to the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde to see Seler II full size. How did they interpret the calendrical name that, to my straining eyes, might or might not be 11 Serpent? To my joy, they named him 11 Serpent, so I knew that this non-inheritor was on Seler II for sure.

Needless to say, I was curious as to whether the non-inheritors were on any of the Pre-Conquest deer hides. By the time Emily Rabin integrated all sixty-four of the personages on Tequixtepec I into her punchcard system, she had punched onto cards all the personages from Codex Nuttall, Codex Vindobonensis, and Codex

Colombino-Becker. When her needles showed that the non-inheritors were not to be found in any of these, I gained the idea that they were probably not on any of the well-known codices featuring 8 Deer; an idea strengthened by Caso’s failure, when he wrote of them, to link them with personages on the deer-hide histories. If he had found them there, surely he would have said so. Tracing characters from one document to another was perhaps his chief pride and certainly one of his greatest aids in showing how the pictorial manuscripts could be deciphered.

When I knew I was going to give a paper on the three non-inheritors at the Congress of Americanists in Vancouver in 1979, I wanted to be more certain about these people not being on the other codices, so I sent their names to Mary Elizabeth Smith at the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque. I knew she had inherited a “People File” from George Kubler of Yale, which she had amplified and kept up to date as more Mixtec documents came to light. Would she, I asked, run Lord 11 Serpent, Lady 2 Flint, and 1 Wind “Flowering Serpent,” who might be either a man or a woman, through her biographical file? Being, as always, a generous colleague, she did.

Her file produced five 11 Serpents, five Lady 2 Flints, ten Lord 1 Winds, and three Lady 1 Winds. But because she gave all their nicknames, spouses, and place glyphs (where these were available), all could be ruled out as our non-inheritors, except for those I have already discussed. So she located no new representations, even though eight documents had people with the same calendrical names: Bodley, Nuttall, and Vindobonensis among the deer hides; the Lienzos of Zacatepec and Yolotepec from outside the Coixtlahuaca valley; and Baranda, Ihuitlán, and Lienzo A-Meixueiro from within the valley. The absence of the non-inheritors from these last three pictorials is particularly significant. It confirms the evidence of our four Coixtlahuaca documents: that these famous aunts and uncles

went elsewhere and didn't follow brother 7 Water "Eagle" to Coixtlahuaca.

It was several months after the ICA in Vancouver that the long-awaited Volume II of *Caso's Reyes y reinos de la Mixteca* appeared. This biographical dictionary of the personages on the Mixtec pictorials (Caso 1979) confirmed my hunch that when Caso wrote his earlier studies of the Coixtlahuaca documents he had not found our particular characters—11 Serpent, 1 Wind and Lady 2 Flint—on any of the deer hide codices. Furthermore, it showed, with one dubious exception, that in the six remaining years of his life he still had not located them on the deer hides. The exception was his speculation that 1 Wind of Culhuacan (Figs. 36 and 41) might be the personage shown as Lord 8 Wind on Becker II and on the late-appearing segment of Becker II that Karl A. Nowotny published as "El Fragmento de Nochistlan" (Nowotny 1975). Two things alerted Caso to this possibility: that the place glyph of this man has a bent-over hill as one of its elements; and that in Mixtec, names one and eight are often confused. But Caso showed he had his doubts about the linkage he was proposing, and Mary Elizabeth Smith in her "Codex Becker II: A Manuscript from the Mixteca Baja?" (Smith 1979) presents convincing arguments that this Lord 8 Wind could not be the 1 Wind of the Coixtlahuaca documents. His realm, she shows, is not the Culhuacan of the Valley of Mexico. And then there is the argument that 1 Wind may have been a woman.

Caso's final summation shows that he did not find the 12 Flints or their fourth child, 7 Water "Eagle," on the deer hides either, confirming that these parents and children definitely are members of baronial lines unconnected with the many lineages of the 8 Deer codices.

This does not mean there is no hope of finding further references to them elsewhere. The success of Luís Reyes García (Reyes 1977) and Maarten Jansen (personal communication, May 12, 1978) in coordinating several personages and places on

the Lienzo of Tlapiltepec with personages in the *Historia Tolteca Chichimeca* and on the Mapa de la Ruta Chicomoztoc-Cauhtinchan No. 2, leads me to believe that where the non-inheritors might show up is in documents of non-Mixtec tribes; perhaps in documents of other areas of Mexico to which the non-inheritors of Coixtlahuaca moved, rose to fame, and established dynasties of their own. Present-day trade patterns and archaeological work in La Cañada suggest that the people of La Cañada and Coixtlahuaca have always shown more affinity to southern Puebla than to the rest of the Mixteca. And it is worth noting that in Volume II of *Reyes y reinos de la Mixteca*, Caso, instead of citing the Coixtlahuaca Valley as the locus of the documents we have been discussing, defined it as the Region Chocha de Coixtlahuaca, defining it as the territory of the "chocho-popoloca de Norte de Oaxaca y Sur de Puebla."

Obviously we still need more documents to round out our knowledge of the non-inheritors. But this preliminary study gives evidence that these personages may provide valuable clues to more than the early Mixtec rulers. They may throw light on the rise and relationships of several Mesoamerican cultural divisions, which is why I think they may have an importance beyond any I envisaged when I first became interested in them. What caught my interest at the start was that they were vividly depicted human beings who did not fit into the pattern of their neighbors. Being peripheral, they seemed to present problems that would be easy to dispose of before going after the vast array of central characters. Investigation has shown that I underestimated the problem. But one thing is clear. Further representations of our trio, if we are lucky enough to find them, will perform the same service for those I have assembled here that my nine specimens have performed for each other. They will clarify and amplify; and in some cases confirm—in others, correct.

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Plate I (*above*) The whole of Lienzo Tequixtepec I.

Plate II (*opposite top*) Lord 3 Lizard and Lord 11 Lizard ruling Tequixtepec, Lienzo Tequixtepec I.

Plate III (*opposite bottom*) Left half of Lienzo Tequixtepec I's lower section.



